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NATIONAL REVIEW

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In Lynne Stewart, the radical Left meets radical Islam. How a 'progressive' lawyer got in bed with terrorists.

RACHEL ZABARKES FRIEDMAN

PLUS:

John Berlau on Warren Buffett

Ross Douthat on David Brooks

Jay Nordlinger, Ramesh Ponnuru, Byron York and *The Editors* on the Democratic convention

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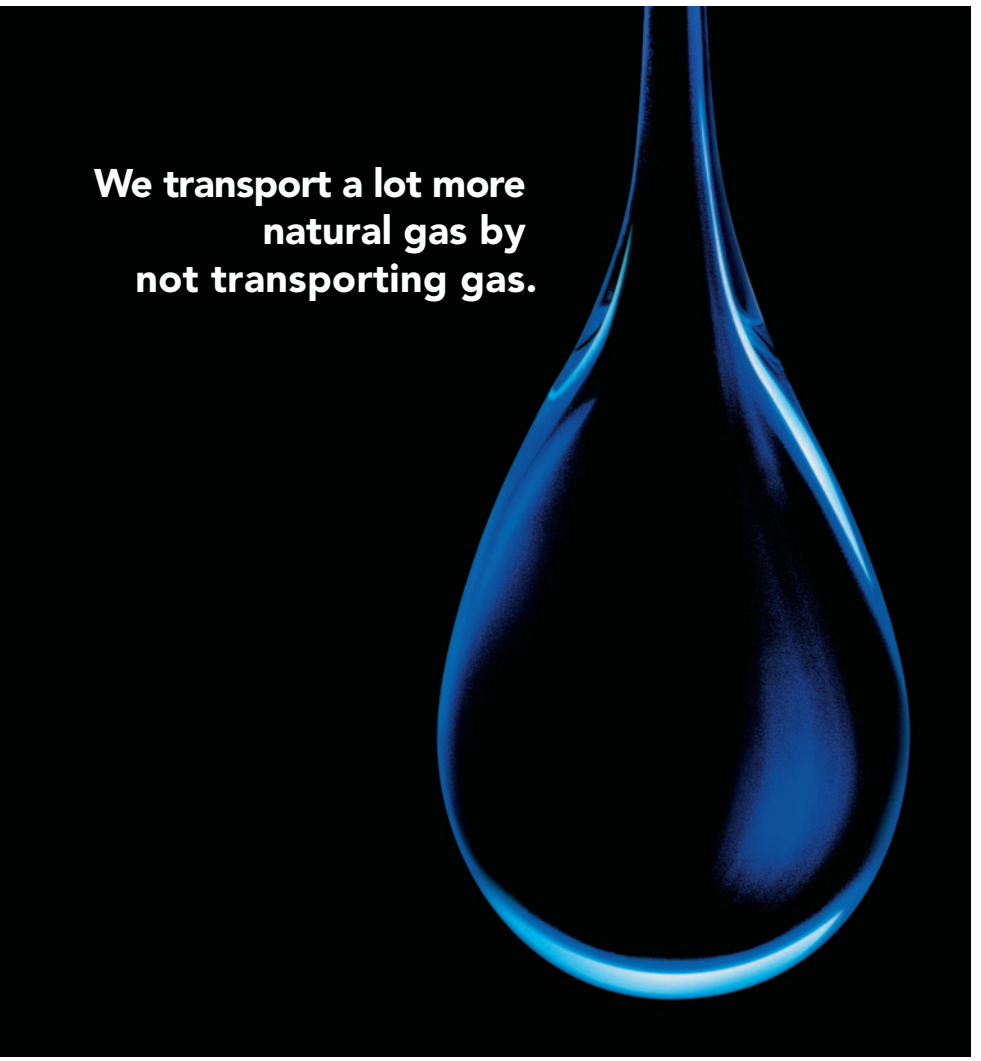

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NATIONAL REVIEW

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■ COVER STORY

Lawyer of Jihad

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The story of Lynne Stewart—an attorney accused of helping Islamist terrorists—is a powerful illustration of how easily radical leftist dissatisfaction with America becomes cheerful support for America's enemies, and how a so-called defender of the public becomes a defender of the public's enemies. *By Rachel Zabarkes Friedman*

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letters to the editor

TO WFB

Having grown up in Rhinebeck, N.Y., been a resident of Stamford, Conn., and attended Yale College, I thoroughly enjoyed William F. Buckley Jr.'s recollections ("From *Miles Gone By—A Literary Autobiography*," August 9).

Buckley's observations of the Dutchess County Horse Show brought to mind my own childhood memories of attending country fairs in Rhinebeck on those very same grounds.

While in Stamford, I too lived on the water, and having passed many agreeable evenings watching the sun set from the boardwalk, I can attest that Buckley is spot-on when he writes of "the most dazzling light changes" that do indeed make a "happy inhabitant . . . wonder at the wonder of it all."

I took the greatest interest in Buckley's tales from New Haven, where he is, needless to say, legendary. During my own time in the Elm City, I spent a term on the layout staff of the *Yale Daily News*, drawn to the publication in no small part because of its history and tradition—of which Buckley is a lasting icon. In the Yale Political Union's Conservative party, Buckley continues to be the figure most often cited by members as a role model for Yale conservatives, and for all young conservatives, and for every student who aspires to be a "Yale Man"—of which Buckley is practically the quintessence.

So, from a slightly younger right-winger: Thanks for the memories, and thanks even more for the enduring example.

Ian R. Fisher
Long Island City, N.Y.

I'm a 48-year-old Reagan Democrat who changed parties after the debacle of Jimmy Carter. So I've cut my conservative teeth on WFB all my adult life. While I don't begrudge him a well-earned rest in his golden years, I do hope he won't leave us utterly bereft of his wit and wisdom. Just a pearl here, a dollop there, please?

William Douglas Smith
Ceredo, W. Va.

This medium is ephemeral, but Buckley's contributions to the country are most decidedly not. He swam against the tide, and won the race, against all prognostications.

Now that he has stepped away from *Firing Line* and NATIONAL REVIEW, I hope Buckley will find himself re-charged, and that he will enjoy many future forays into intellectual battle, and the ensuing victories, of course!

Bonette Richards
Via e-mail

My husband handed me a copy of Buckley's *Inveighing We Will Go* many years ago, and after I read it I knew the author was a very interesting man. Buckley has had an opportunity to lead in so many ways, and has produced countless programs, articles, and books for the public to enjoy. I wish him good sailing in his future.

Thank you, Bill Buckley, for giving me joy—the joy of learning from you—and for saying things just the way I would say them if I had your mind.

Annette T. Day
Tuscaloosa, Ala.

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How Foreign Aid Can Help the Poor—and Why It Doesn't

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People who think foreign aid ought to be used to help end poverty complain that it has too many strings attached. That strings are attached is true; the problem is not too many strings but rather that the wrong strings are attached to end poverty.

Most aid reflects a deal between leaders in rich, democratic countries and leaders in poor, despotic countries. Autocrats need money to keep core supporters—the military, key bureaucrats, close family members—in line, and democrats need policy concessions that help with reelection. Since few voters care much about foreign policy, these are marginal effects and so small amounts are spent on aid.

A natural opportunity exists for deals between democrats and autocrats. The latter don't need successful policies to stay in office, so they can agree to policies their citizens don't like in exchange for money to sustain them in power. Just consider Hosni Mubarak's agreement for Egypt to live in peace with Israel. In fact, autocrats like Mubarak must maintain their citizenry's dislike for policy concessions they grant. If the policy could be enforced without aid, there would be no reason to continue to pay. Democratic leaders cannot easily buy incumbency; they must deliver policies their constituents like. Thus, the main string attached to foreign aid deals is money for policy. That is a winning situation for leaders in donor and recipient countries and is pretty good for donor citizens too. But it is bad for ordinary citizens in the recipient country. Their welfare is sold for aid.

No wonder aid does little to raise incomes, improve health or education, or do the myriad other things well-intentioned people would like aid to do. How might these problems be corrected? There are four steps to changing aid into a means to help the poor:

1. Encourage individuals and groups to give aid through NGOs or directly to needy recipients, rather than by and to government. Shifting aid outside government reduces the danger of government deals that do not alleviate poverty. (Currently the United States contributes about $56 per American citizen in global aid. Total assistance could easily be maintained if wealthier families contributed twice that, deducting it from their taxes as charitable giving.)
2. Require aid recipients to open their books to independent, external audit.
3. Broadcast audit results in easily digested form.
4. When aid must be given to governments, give to those that have at least two organized, freely operating political parties or other political groups that articulate views different from those of their government, and be sure that these groups have an unencumbered right to compete against the incumbent leader for office.

Until poverty-alleviating aid is moved out of the government's domain and into the hands of caring citizens, and **until government aid is constrained to go as directly as possible to those who need the money the most, aid will continue to serve as a means to achieve policy goals (a good thing), to prolong despotism (a bad thing), and to lead recipients to engage in policies that are against the interests of their own citizens (a very bad thing).**

—Bruce Bueno de Mesquita

Bruce Bueno de Mesquita is a senior fellow at the Hoover Institution and the Silver Professor of Politics at New York University.

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for the record

"How about we have Thanksgiving at your folks' place and Christmas at my *folks' place?"*

■ In *The Hotline*'s survey of state polls, President **Bush** leads in 23 states worth 195 electoral votes and **John Kerry** leads in 22 states worth 261 electoral votes (270 needed to win). . . . CNN/*USA Today*/Gallup poll: Bush 50 percent, Kerry 46 percent, **Ralph Nader** 2 percent. . . . In *Washington Post*/ABC News poll, registered voters prefer Bush on taxes, terror, and Iraq and favor Kerry on education and health care. . . . Bush: "We are a nation in danger. We're doing everything we can in our power to confront the danger. We're making good progress and protecting our people and bringing our enemies to account." . . . **Thomas Kean** of 9/11 commission: "Every expert with whom we spoke told us an attack of even greater magnitude is now possible, and even probable." . . . Bush: "After 19 years in the United States Senate, my opponent has had thousands of votes, but very few signature achievements." . . . "They say Senator **Edwards** got picked because he's charming, good-looking, sexy. . . . How do you think I got the job?" asks Vice President **Cheney**. "Always bothers me when people laugh at that line. I'm not sure why they do."

■ Unnamed Kerry aide explains senator's vote against troop-funding bill, in *The New Yorker*: "Off the record he did it because of **Howard Dean**. On the record, he has an elaborate explanation." . . . Kerry, in *Business Week*: "I am not going to raise marginal rates—ever—above the rates we had under Bill Clinton." . . . **Teresa Heinz Kerry** to reporter who questioned her claim that "un-American traits . . . are coming into some of our politics": "Shove it!" . . . **Andrew L. Stern** of Service Employees International Union says Democrats might be better off if Kerry loses election, in *Washington Post*: "It is a hollow party." . . . John Edwards on whether he would have chosen Kerry as his running mate, on NBC: "I don't know." . . . Sen. **Ted Kennedy** (D., Mass.) on whether Kerry is a liberal, on ABC: "Labels really don't have much meaning today."

■ *Washington Post*/Univision/TRPI poll of Hispanics: Kerry 60 percent, Bush 30 percent. . . . Democratic convention delegates complain about 1994 column written by Iowa first lady **Christie Vilsack** (D.) calling for English as official language. . . . **Jimmy Carter**: "The United States has alienated its allies, dismayed its friends, and inadvertently gratified its enemies by proclaiming a confused and disturbing strategy of pre-emptive war." . . . More Carter, on PBS: "I don't know really to what degree President Bush is the leader among that inner circle when they congregate in the Oval Office to make basic decisions about what to do." . . . Number of viewers watching Democratic National Convention on major networks shrinks from 17.6 million in 2000 to 13.4 million this year, according to Nielsen Media Research.

■ Rep. **Johnny Isakson** (Ga.) and former congressman **Tom Coburn** (Okla.) win GOP Senate primaries without needing runoffs. . . . In move signaling trouble, campaign manager to Senate candidate **Inez Tenenbaum** (D., S.C.) quits. . . . Rep. **Robert Matsui** (D., Calif.), chairman of Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee, says his party is poised to capture House, in *Roll Call*: "We don't need a tsunami, or even a hurricane. We need a little breeze." . . . House minority whip **Steny Hoyer** (D., Md.) says today's Democrats are positioned similarly to Republicans in 1994.

■ Former New York City mayor **Rudy Giuliani**, on NBC: "I think the idea of two Americas—that's the way they ran against **Ronald Reagan** 20 years ago. So it sounds to me like the old Democratic party back again." . . . **Nancy Reagan** disappoints GOP convention organizers by refusing invitation to appear on stage following video tribute to Ronald Reagan. . . . Homeland Security secretary **Tom Ridge** tells friends he may resign after election, reports AP. . . . Rep. **Tom Davis** (R., Va.) on **Sandy Berger**'s memo pilfering at National Archives: "a disturbing breach of trust and protocol."

■ *New York Times* ombudsman **Daniel Okrent** on his paper's coverage of gay marriage: "On a topic that has produced one of the defining debates of our time, *Times* editors have failed to provide the three-dimensional perspective balanced journalism requires." . . . Federal court agrees to consider Wisconsin Right to Life's challenge to McCain-Feingold ban of commercials opposing filibuster of Bush judicial nominees. . . . As number of Americans saying they have no religion rises—from 9 percent to 14 percent over last decade—National Opinion Research Center says Protestants are on verge of losing majority status. . . . In blow to White House, House committee cuts $1 billion from NASA budget.

■ **Brice Lalonde**, mayor of French town of Saint-Briac and first cousin of Kerry, in *Wall Street Journal*: "We do have some JFK stickers on our cars." . . . In *Le Figaro* poll, 78 percent of French say they would vote for Kerry and 9 percent say Bush. . . . Relations between India and Pakistan continue to thaw, as foreign ministers meet in Islamabad. . . . In Chile, court begins investigating corruption charges against former ruler **Augusto Pinochet**.

■ **Jay Leno**: "Edwards's speech was so good, when he finished the delegates awarded him $80 million plus punitive damages." **NR**

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THE WEEK

■ Keep talkin', Teresa. Keep talkin'.

■ They were an interesting group, those delegates in Boston. Though a CBS/*New York Times* survey found them to be miles to the left of typical Democratic voters, a majority of them consider themselves moderates. In contrast to their nominee's "nuanced" positions, nine out of ten delegates oppose the war in Iraq, and a large majority favors eliminating most of the Bush tax cuts. While 43 percent of Democratic voters would permit abortions only in cases of rape, incest, or the life of the mother, only 12 percent of delegates agree with them, with 64 percent supporting abortion on demand. A third of Democratic voters and 5 percent of delegates oppose any legal recognition of gay unions. Forty-four percent of delegates think gays should be allowed to marry and 43 percent favor civil unions. Although the Boston delegates lack the awareness that they represent only the most left-wing of Democratic voters, they are not lacking much else. About 40 percent of the delegates have postgraduate degrees, incomes over $100,000 a year, and a net worth over $500,000. Which of John Edwards's Americas do they belong to, again?

■ If you're a Democrat, you'll always have Florida. At least that's how it seemed at the party's convention, as speaker after speaker revived the myth that Al Gore "won" the 2000 presidential election. "We won a half a million more votes than George Bush and Dick Cheney," said party chairman Terry McAuliffe. "If only we had gotten one more vote on the United States Supreme Court." One might have thought that McAuliffe and his party would have moved on by now. But for the record: George W. Bush won Florida, and thus the presidency. As McAuliffe may remember, a consortium formed by major news organizations studied ballots in Florida and found that in every real-world vote-counting scenario, Bush was the victor. A front-page story in the *New York Times* on November 12, 2001, was headlined, "Study of Disputed Florida Ballots Finds Justices Did Not Cast the Deciding Vote." The paper reported that, "[c]ontrary to what many partisans of former Vice President Al Gore have charged, the United States Supreme Court did not award an election to Mr. Bush that otherwise would have been won by Mr. Gore. A close examination of the ballots found that Mr. Bush would have retained a slender margin over Mr. Gore if the Florida court's order to recount more than 43,000 ballots had not been reversed by the United States Supreme Court." The consortium also found that Bush would have won under Gore's original scheme to recount ballots in heavily Democratic counties. The consortium found that in just one scenario, a statewide recount of all rejected ballots—something Gore did not ask for and no court ordered—Gore "might have" won. Other media outlets reported the same results. And, of course, if anyone cares, the official recounts in Florida showed Bush received more votes than Gore. So just a brief reminder, to one and all: Yes, Bush won.

ROMAN GENN

■ You've heard of pitting Americans against Americans, right? Well, how about pitting Americans against Iraqis? Sen. Tom Daschle is one of the politicians who do it, and he did it glaringly in his Dem convention speech: "[My constituents] wonder how we can build new schools in Iraq, while so many American schools are crumbling. [As though a shortage of money had anything to do with American education's most serious problems.] And it doesn't make sense to them that we're paying over $2 for gasoline at home, while American taxpayers are funding nickel-a-gallon gas in Iraq." There were no doubt politicians who groused about investing in Germany and Japan, and who made hay out of it on the campaign trail—but we don't have to admire them. Facing a tough reelection race, Daschle is talking about putting "America first." Strange, for the leader of the Democrats to be using such language, freighted with historical significance. But that is what Democratic political necessity has brought us to.

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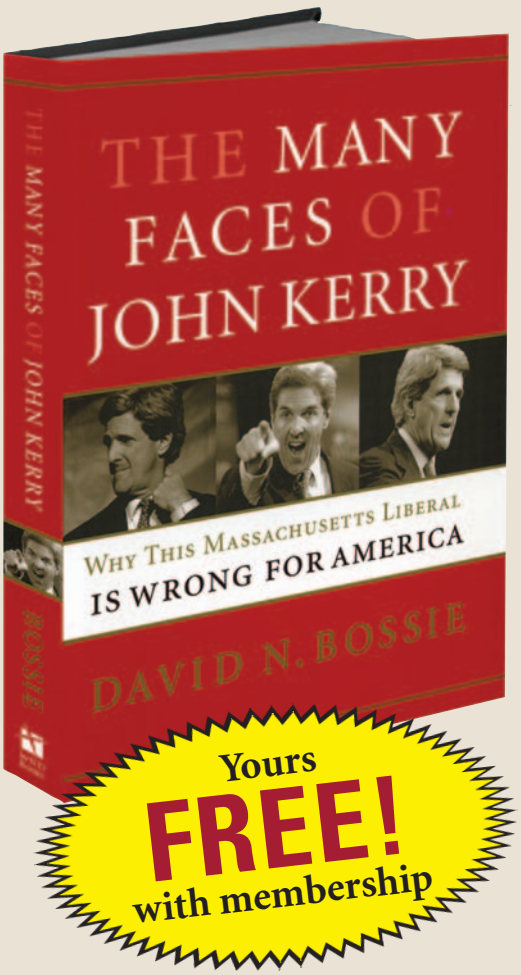
Will the real John Kerry please stand up…*and walk away!*


THE MANY FACES OF JOHN KERRY
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Meet the real John Kerry, the elitist, shape-shifting manipulator who will make America safer for terrorism and further Hillary's socialist dream! For more than thirty years, John Kerry has used his bully pulpit to endanger the lives of U.S. military personnel fighting overseas, complain about the sitting president's policies, and shirk his legislative responsibilities in a relentless pursuit of headlines. As David Bossie shows in *The Many Faces of John Kerry*, if Kerry is elected President this November, he will move to cripple our military, suck up to special interests, and revive Hillary's discredited socialized health care scheme…just to name a few.

John Kerry has reinvented himself so many times that it's almost impossible to find the true Kerry. But Bossie does so. He documents dozens of Kerry's notorious flip-flops and proves that Kerry has acted consistently in his public life only as the ideological kin of Jimmy Carter, Bill Clinton, Ted Kennedy, and all the other liberal Democrats whose programs have caused so much damage to our nation over the last few decades.

Bossie introduces you to a cynical opportunist who from his anti-war beginnings in the early 1970s onward has used every issue he could find for his own benefit. Kerry, like Clinton, really has no genuine values, no foundation, no moral compass — just a penchant for political expediency. And that expediency has always led Kerry leftward. Bossie explores Kerry's Clintonian ambition and his elitist background, and traces how he has again and again used his Vietnam experience to increase his own profit and power.

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THE WEEK...

■ Barack Obama gave a wonderful keynote address at the Democratic convention, and not just because he trumped John Edwards's hardscrabble background—I'll see your mill-worker father and raise you a goat-herding Kenyan father. Obama tapped into the American spirit of aspiration; challenged black parents to raise expectations for their children; championed a patriotic sense of national unity; and grounded his liberalism in a religious faith expressed in genuine and unashamed language. It says something about the contemporary Democratic party that this speech was exceptional, in the full sense of the word.

■ John Kerry asked, "What if we have a president who believes in science, so we can unleash the wonders of discovery like stem-cell research to treat illness and save millions of lives?" Of course, one can "believe in" science—better, believe that the scientific enterprise can generate useful and sometimes wondrous knowledge—while also thinking, with President Bush, that research that kills human embryos is morally objectionable and should not be funded by the federal government. Almost everyone supports some restrictions on human experimentation while still "believing in science." If, on the other hand, "believing in science" means taking on faith the promises that embryo-killing research will save "millions of lives" and that human cloning will make it possible for everyone to have his "own personal biological repair kit standing by at the hospital," as Ron Reagan said in an especially hucksterish speech at the Democratic convention, then that belief should be rejected as irrational. The truth is that even most researchers who support embryonic stem-cell research and cloning do not pretend that a cure for Parkinson's is just around the corner. Such dubious claims are, however, politically convenient for people who want to enlarge the constituency for taxpayer-subsidized embryo research. Democrats think that this issue is a surefire winner for them. They may be right. But if the cause of embryo research is so appealing, why are its advocates so prone to gross exaggeration?

■ In an interview with Peter Jennings, Kerry attempted to square his belief that life begins at conception with his support for abortion by suggesting that the fetus is not a "person" before viability. So conception marks the beginning of a new life, and presumably a human one, but this human being is not a person. Does Kerry believe in the existence of any other class of human non-persons? If so, who are they? If not, is this concept just a way to rationalize abortion? If the fetus is not a person, then why does Kerry say that he morally opposes abortion? Every time the man discusses abortion, he sinks deeper into a logical quagmire.

■ Sen. Joe Lieberman is a mensch. The Democrats have been trying to project strength against terror, and Lieberman is as close to the real thing as they come. At the convention, he said that "Islamist terrorists" are "as great a threat to our security and freedom as the Nazis and Communists we defeated last century." America needs "strong leaders who know when to use American power to destroy these Islamist terrorists." Maybe best of all: "To make America safe again, we must keep our military strong. We must support our brave and brilliant troops—the new greatest generation—who have liberated Afghanistan and Iraq from murderous tyrannies, and who are fighting tonight in both nations to defeat terrorists and allow free and stable governments to grow there." Lieberman skipped Carter when listing the accomplishments of past Democratic presidents. Not that Lieberman was mainstream in Boston—he was the only prominent speaker to mention the liberations, and unfortunately the candidates he supports are not likely to be strong on terror at all. But at least he is something.

■ In her convention speech, Teresa Heinz Kerry said that "one of the best faces America has ever projected is the face of a Peace Corps volunteer." It "symbolizes this country: young, curious, brimming with idealism and hope—and a real, honest compassion." Hmmm. Now, not to disparage Peace Corps volunteers, but what about all of those young people in the military who risked their lives to liberate Afghanistan and Iraq? Listen to most of the Democratic party and you'd think those soldiers were forced into wars by a president who fought them because he wanted to. Maybe, rather, it was the president who was forced into war, and the soldiers who answered the call of duty because *they* wanted to. In any case, for all the Democrats' bluster about strengthening the military, Teresa may have given us an important insight into the Kerry priorities: Idealism is building houses in Costa Rica, teaching English in former Soviet Georgia, promoting AIDS awareness in Mozambique—not defending this country from its enemies and using its military strength to save lives abroad. What was that about John Kerry having served in Vietnam?

■ A breakthrough in global trade talks promises economic benefits for rich and poor countries alike. Essentially, the deal would have rich countries stop ripping off their taxpayers with farm subsidies that glut world food markets. In return, poor countries would stop ripping off their consumers by stopping them from buying the rich countries' food. Such is the peculiar political logic of trade: Governments agree to stop harming their own countries' interests only if other governments do the same. Whether American Democrats will allow the deal is an open question. They have moved, covertly but unmistakably, in a protectionist direction. At the Democratic convention, even Bill Clinton, the nearest thing his party has to a free-trader, tried to score points against President Bush by suggesting that he was not enforcing the trade laws against Japan and China. The motive Clinton ascribed: Those countries help to finance our budget deficit. We would have thought that spinning tales of international financial conspiracies was one thing, at least, beneath the former president. But he manages to find new lows. John Kerry, meanwhile, has said that as president he would "review" our existing trade agreements and set stringent conditions for signing new ones. His only objection to Bush's steel tariffs is that Bush rescinded them. His comments on trade at the con-

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vention were wholly negative. The Democrats' initial reaction to the deal has been carping. If they scuttle a global free-trade deal, it will be a bit of unilateralism we could do without.

■ "We value an America that controls its own destiny because it's finally and forever independent of Mideast oil," said Kerry. "What does it mean for our economy and our national security when we have only 3 percent of the world's oil reserves, yet we rely on foreign countries for 53 percent of what we consume?" What's that "yet" doing there? Wouldn't one expect those numbers to vary inversely? If we had 100 percent of the world's oil, we would import none of it, and vice versa. Kerry makes a more common mistake when he imagines that America can seal itself off from the global oil market. Even if we imported no oil from the Mideast, our economy would still respond to changes in the price set by that market and to the effects of that price on the global economy. The Mideast's oil would still make it geopolitically important. No more than King Canute could beat back the tides with his sword can John Kerry stop the global flow of oil.

■ When photographs appeared of John Kerry hopping around the shuttle *Discovery* in a baby blue "bunny suit," his campaign falsely claimed they had been rabbit-punched by NASA. A spokesman for the agency explained that pictures of visiting dignitaries are routinely released to the public and posted online. Kerry staff reportedly asked for the pictures and helped pass them out to the media. Then there was a flip-flop on the hip-hop. But one could still imagine Harvey rescuing that hamster in a touching act of solidarity.

■ The president talked up tax cuts, tort reform, the war on terrorism, school choice, his faith-based initiative, and his other policies. That's not especially notable. The venue for his speech, the Urban League, is. The president made it clear that while he will not speak before the NAACP, which ran vicious ads against him in 2000, he is willing to talk to largely black audiences when conversation and cooperation are at all possible. By sticking to the message he gives in front of all audiences, and minimizing the racial pandering, he treated blacks as Americans, albeit Americans with some marked concerns, rather than as an interest group. But this speech is only a start. The most direct form of political communication that most Americans receive is campaign advertising. Republicans have not advertised much on the radio and television shows that blacks tend to watch. They will have to change that if they want to broaden the conversation to include a black public that is badly served by its current elites.

■ The House made a symbolic strike against the federal courts on same-sex marriage. The bill it voted for would strip those courts of jurisdiction over challenges to the Defense of Marriage Act. Even if the Senate were to follow suit, the president to sign the bill, and the courts to obey the resulting law, the practical effect would be very limited. The way the bill has been drafted, federal courts can use the Fourteenth Amendment to impose same-sex marriage nationwide. The bill does nothing to stop 50 state courts from imposing it piecemeal, either. Only a constitutional amendment will close the door to the courts. It is, however, heartening to see that most members of the House are willing to assert their constitutional prerogatives over the federal courts. The Constitution explicitly allows the Congress to enact "exceptions" to the appellate jurisdiction of the Supreme Court (Art. III, Sec. 2), and implicitly allows it to do the same to the lower federal courts since Congress creates them (Art. III, Sec. 1). Critics of the bill, conditioned by decades of judicial supremacy, say that the Constitution cannot allow Congress effectively to repeal the Fourteenth Amendment or other parts of the Constitution by statute. That objection betrays a misunderstanding. No statute can repeal any part of the Constitution, true. But a statute can set limits to the courts' ability to enforce the Constitution and its readings thereof. To assume that constitutional provisions have no meaning unless the courts enforce them is, among other things, to contradict a constitutional text that clearly allows Congress to preclude judicial enforcement. The actual words of the Constitution have to trump contemporary theories of what the Constitution should mean.

■ Most liberals embrace illegal immigrants; they are not, by and large, great friends of the unborn. But fetus talk can be desirable in the service of another agenda—as it was in a Kansas City, Mo., immigration case in May. A pregnant Mexican, in the U.S. illegally, resisted deportation by claiming U.S. citizen status for her unborn child. U.S. district judge Scott Wright—who has overturned the Missouri legislature's partial-birth-abortion ban—agreed, citing the Unborn Victims of Violence Act. That act recognizes that fetuses bear some rights, at least when their mothers want them; but it can hardly be said to confer citizenship, which still requires (see Amendment XIV) birth on American soil. The Kansas City story is laughable, but not isolated: A similar case has now arisen in California, to which climes a deported Mexican woman, eight months pregnant, seeks to return—for her unborn baby's health. (She has suffered various complications during her pregnancy.) Lawyers in the California case are citing the Missouri decision, and the Unborn Victims of Violence Act; it seems immigration lawyers consider this a

Live from Boston

It had an almost antique look.
Old coots awake at 10:00 mistook
Ms. Heinz for H. V. Kaltenborn.
Thematically, it sounded worn,
Old-hat and just a tad quill-pen,
Though "Happy Days Are Here Again"
Was mercifully dumped along
With "fear itself." John can be wrong.

—W. H. von Dreele

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"And why should an understanding of concert music be worthwhile anyway? I would suggest a few reasons:

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- Music, as a universal, non-verbal language, allows us to tap into the social, cultural, and aesthetic traditions of different cultures and historical eras. We become more aware of our shared humanity and the wisdom and vision of others.
- Music allows us to transcend our own world and partake in utterly different realities.
- Last, but certainly not least, good music is fun to listen to, relatively inexpensive—we can do it by ourselves or with others—and there are any number of ways to expand our knowledge and appreciation of the art."

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What You'll Learn: The Tools, The Times, The Composers, and Their Music

"Grammar": Professor Greenberg gives you an outstanding grasp of musical forms, techniques, and terms—the "grammatical" elements that make you fluent in the "language" of music. These are not dull concepts. Professor Greenberg alerts us to the need for them:

"Music, like any pseudo-science, requires an adjectival palette by which we can isolate events that without proper terms we might not even be able to notice. It's an interesting question to what degree language allows us to perceive things that are not language-associated. I'm a strong believer that if you've got the right word to identify something, you can perceive it. I think my favorite pseudo-science when it comes to this kind of thing is wine-tasting, where one has to come up with an adjectival palette that is almost a cartoon unto itself. But silly as these phrases may be—'Oh, this has a hint of young tobacco, and old oak fragrant with raspberries'—silly as these terms are, they allow us to draw distinctions without which we may not be able to draw at all. So we will create a useful vocabulary."

Rich Context: Professor Greenberg teaches the powerful influence of social context on musical creation. Best-selling author James Collins, writing in *Inc.* magazine, explains: "The Greenberg series combines a history of western civilization with a history of great music from ancient Greece to the 20th century. Greenberg's 48 lectures come alive with passion and knowledge. The course illustrates the interplay between societal change and innovation and offers a unique perspective on the acceleration of change wrought by the 20th century."

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Whether it's the profound influence of Lutheran spirituality on Bach or the effect of the French Revolution on Beethoven (to give just two examples), you'll see how such forces have swirled through the lives of music's creators and listeners in various historical epochs. You'll also grasp how these forces have stimulated the creation of musical masterpieces that are both transcendent works of art and compositions deeply rooted in their respective eras, telling us something central about the human condition in each one.

The Composers: The course examines the contributions of nearly every major composer. But one of Professor Greenberg's aims is to make their music accessible, and, for this, we must accept that every one of them was human and no more. (He observes at one point that, in English, Giuseppe Verdi would only be "Joe Green.") You will remember their music, and you will never forget the composers, who are brought to life throughout the lectures. Consider Professor Greenberg's introduction to Berlioz:

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"Hector Berlioz begins writing the *Symphonie Fantastique* in 1829 and he completes it in 1830, the same year he graduates from the conservatory, so he's only 27 years old and is still learning his craft at this time.

"The *Symphonie Fantastique* is an experimental artwork if there ever was one. It is an absolutely avant-garde piece of music. It attempts to unite the four great loves of Berlioz's life, as he felt them then and as they continued to be throughout his life. Those four great loves, in no particular order, are: first, Shakespeare's plays and Shakespeare's sense of drama; second: Beethoven's symphonies, which Berlioz worshipped; third: opera, which Berlioz lived for; and we must not forget the fourth great love of Berlioz's life: himself. It's a very autobiographical work. Again, we have to understand that autobiography is very typical of the self-involvement and expressive self-indulgence of the 19th- and indeed, the 20th-century artist."

The Music: Central to this course is great music itself. Using digitally recorded musical passages to illustrate his points, Professor Greenberg will take you inside magnificent compositions by Bach, Handel, Haydn, Mozart, Beethoven, Chopin, Verdi, Wagner, Brahms, Tchaikovsky, Stravinsky, and more. You have listened to many of the illustrative pieces all your life—you will never hear them the same way again after Professor Greenberg has opened them up for you.

A Great Teacher

Professor Greenberg holds degrees from Princeton University and the University of California at Berkeley, where he received a Ph.D. in music composition in 1984. He has composed more than 45 works and has lectured for many prestigious musical and arts organizations in the United States.

He has received three Nicola De Lorenzo Prizes in composition, and commissions from the Koussevitsky Foundation of The Library of Congress and the Alexander String Quartet, among others.

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The Week...

fresh, legitimate approach to fighting deportation. Thus it is that the Left would sooner see the abortion of potential U.S. citizens than their removal to Mexico. As a friend of NR observed, they have their newest bumper sticker: "You can abort 'em, but you can't deport 'em."

■ Something remarkable occurred in Minnesota. On August 1, Randy Kelly, Democratic mayor of St. Paul, endorsed President Bush, urging Minnesotans to "stay the course." "The common good will be better served on the path we're on than with an abrupt change of direction, especially one paved in part with political hatred," he told the state in an announcement from his backyard. The mayor cited an "I Hate Bush" bumper sticker he'd recently seen as evidence of this political hatred. Minnesota Democrats, of course, had a fit. Who knew an "I Hate Bush" bumper sticker could do so much good?

■ In 1946, the great economist Henry Hazlitt observed, "You cannot make a man worth a given amount by making it illegal for anyone to offer him anything less." George Pataki seems to know this. On July 29, the Republican governor of New York vetoed a bill to raise the minimum wage from $5.15 to $7.15. New York would suffer a "distinct competitive disadvantage," Pataki said, compared with neighboring states. The governor's veto was an unpopular, brave, and unexpected move. That veto will almost surely be overridden—which makes us salute him all the more.

■ Guess who's back? Former congresswoman Cynthia McKinney, whom the Democratic voters of Georgia's Fourth District have made their nominee for November. McKinney, as you remember, has a smoldering history. A race-baiting conspiracy theorist, she accused President Bush of not warning New Yorkers about 9/11 because friends of his administration stood to profit from a terror war. (This was Michael Moore-ism *avant la lettre*.) And when Rudy Giuliani rejected a gift of $10 million from a Saudi prince—because it looked a little like blood money—McKinney was all too happy to ask for it, slamming America's Middle East policy in the process. In 2002's Democratic primary, voters opted for the far saner Denise Majette. McKinney's father, a former Georgia state rep, blamed his daughter's loss on "J-E-W-S" (yes, he spelled it out). Congresswoman Majette decided to run for the Senate, which left that House seat open. McKinney will probably recapture it in November. We show our journalistic bias, if not our patriotism, when we say: At least she will be fun to watch.

■ What are the lessons of the Abdurahman Alamoudi case? Alamoudi is the former head of the American Muslim Council, a man who once had entree to top political circles in Washington. In early 1999, Alamoudi gave $10,000—and loaned $10,000 more—to the Islamic Institute, the group founded by conservative activist Grover Norquist as part of an effort to bring more Muslim voters to the Republican party. Alamoudi's top deputy ran the new institute. But the next year, the institute was embarrassed when Alamoudi attended a demonstration in front of the White House and yelled to the crowd, "Anybody's a supporter of Hamas here? Hear that, Bill Clinton? We are all supporters of Hamas. . . . I am also a supporter of Hezbollah." The institute says it disassociated itself from Alamoudi after those remarks, but Alamoudi and his group remained welcome in some political circles. Now, however, he has pleaded guilty to playing a key role in a Libyan conspiracy to assassinate Saudi Crown Prince Abdullah. Alamoudi admitted accepting $1 million from the Libyan government meant for the plot's main players. The lesson for Republicans, and indeed everyone in politics? There's a war going on. Be careful whom you associate with—even if your caution might cost you a few votes.

■ The U.N. Security Council finally passed a resolution demanding that Sudan act within 30 days to disarm the Arab militias whose campaign of murder, arson, and rape has driven a million Africans in the Darfur region from their homes. Hundreds are dying daily in refugee camps that humanitarian workers are unable to reach because of the militias' ongoing attacks. While the African Union dithers over whether to provide a protection force, Tony Blair is considering deploying British troops to support relief efforts and protect refugee camps from attacks. Although the United States dropped its call for sanctions against Sudan in order to win approval from the Security Council, our U.N. ambassador, John Danforth, maintains that sanctions are still possible. The Sudanese cabinet promptly rejected the 30-day deadline for action and a military spokesman announced that the U.N. resolution represented a declaration of war on Sudan. It will obviously take more Anglo-American pressure to dent Khartoum.

■ This past month marked the 25th anniversary of the accession to power of Nicaragua's Sandinistas. Their dictatorship was swept away in 1990 by free elections, which were themselves the result of U.S. pressure for democratization. But the wounds of the war linger—50,000 people died—and Cardinal Miguel Obando y Bravo recently offered a Mass "for peace and reconciliation." His gesture was prompted by an appeal for forgiveness on the part of Sandinista strongman Daniel Ortega. "Without this pardon," said the cardinal, "the wounds will continue to bleed, feeding future generations with an endless disgust . . . One cannot remain a prisoner of the past. It is necessary to purify memory." This is commendable. Nicaragua is facing its national demons with frankness and maturity.

■ Did you know that Fidel Castro really, really likes Michael Moore? Not content simply to screen *Fahrenheit 9/11* throughout Cuba—where the theaters had been packed for a week—Castro sought an even wider audience for the film. On July 29, the dictator broadcast the movie in prime time on Cuban television to ensure that it reached each and every

EDITOR'S NOTE: The next issue of NATIONAL REVIEW will appear in three weeks.

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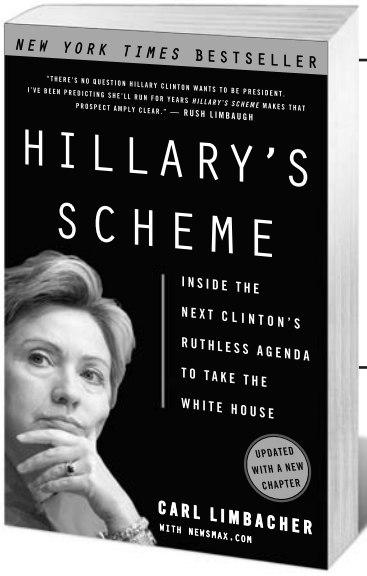
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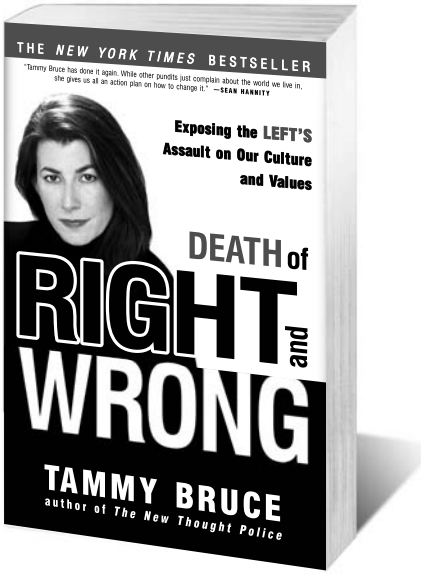
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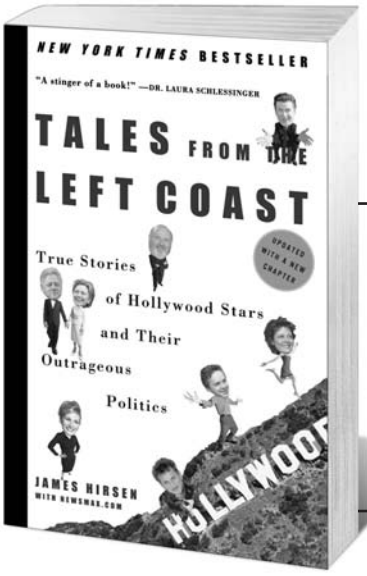
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The Week...

Cuban home. In a speech earlier that week, Castro had paid tribute to Moore's literary masterpiece, *Stupid White Men*, and had displayed his own clinical skills, conjecturing that President Bush's "fevered and fundamentalist mind" derives from his past drinking problems. *El Jefe* is far from alone in his admiration of Moore and his film. He joins Hezbollah, which offered to help distribute *Fahrenheit 9/11* in the Middle East, and, of course, major powers in our own Democratic party: Terry McAuliffe, Tom Daschle, Jimmy Carter, and Bill Clinton. See how Bush unites people?

■ Bill Barrette, a New York artist, has a hobby: collecting knick-knacks and objets d'art made by Japanese prisoners in Sugamo Prison in Tokyo after World War II. There are pencil drawings; a cigarette case woven from strips of toilet paper; a picture frame made of rolled-up pages of *Life* magazine and rice paste. "This is an example of how art and history might benefit from each other," Barrette says. His collection "deals with issues like the politics of memory—who gets to tell the story and how." Fine—so long as we retain our memory of the fact that the prisoners in Sugamo were accused war criminals. Some of them, like Hideki Tojo, plotted Japan's aggressions and were executed for it; others abused American and Australian prisoners of war; others treated Japan's Chinese and Korean subjects like animals. These days the subtext of Abu Ghraib runs under Barrette's project like bad plumbing in an old house. In Artsy-Fartsy World, it is enough to be imprisoned by Americans, no matter where, no matter for what, to establish one's moral and aesthetic bona fides.

■ "Is The New York Times a Liberal Newspaper?" asked the headline over a piece by public editor Daniel Okrent. The 1,700 words that followed contained many interesting observations (Okrent compared the *Times*'s cheerleading for gay marriage to the sunny aesthetics of life insurance commercials). But if the *Times* had been pressed for space, it could have stopped the piece after the lead sentence: "Of course it is."

■ Andy Hiller is the semi-famous political reporter from Boston, the one who tripped up Candidate George W. Bush in that foreign-policy pop quiz. Anyway, asked by *The Hotline*, "What's the best thing about your job?" Hiller answered, "Having the opportunity to give opinions." Silly us—and all this time we thought you had to work in opinion journalism.

■ "Now I'm going to have to move to Staten Island. I'll never leave my house because I'll have to care for these children. I'll have to start shopping only at Costco and buying big jars of mayonnaise." Those were the words of Manhattanite Amy Richards, in an article in *The New York Times Magazine*, about her unexpected pregnancy—with triplets. The unmarried Richards asked her doctor, "Is it possible to get rid of one of them? Or two of them?" Indeed, it was. Two of them were "selectively reduced" and Richards later gave birth to a boy, making it possible for her to avoid the suburbs and wholesale clubs. Whew. But the outrageousness of this piece goes beyond a woman's callousness. There's also the magazine's lack of disclosure: The piece appeared as an "as told to" job and had no identifier for Richards. But Richards is not just any single New Yorker; she is a prominent feminist activist, the co-author of *Manifesta: Young Women, Feminism, and the Future*, a paid employee of Gloria Steinem, associated with Planned Parenthood . . . you get the picture. The *Times*, which eventually blamed the nondisclosure on editing, at first claimed it was unfamiliar with her easily accessible bio—an implausible assertion in the age of Google. A creepy ending to a creepy story.

■ Harvard's Divinity School just announced that it would not be keeping a $2.5 million gift from United Arab Emirates president Sheikh Zayed bin Sultan al-Nahyan. The gift was supposed to endow a professorship in Islamic studies, but after divinity student Rachel Fish focused attention on the Holocaust-denying, Zionist- and American-conspiracy-theorizing output of the sheikh's think tank, the university froze the money and went into deliberations about whether to return it (that was over a year ago). Eventually, the UAE concluded it had waited long enough and decided to retract the donation. That's probably a good thing: Zayed is also one of the donors behind the Edward Said Chair at Columbia, now held by former PLO press-agency director Rashid Khalidi; and he's funded similar chairs elsewhere. With the state of Middle East studies in America what it is (see Martin Kramer's *Ivory Towers on Sand*), we don't need more tenured Khalidis. But it is too bad Harvard wasn't decisive enough—or gutsy enough—to refuse the lucre on its own.

■ Lance Armstrong won his sixth Tour de France, that love/hate letter to human stamina and Gallic geography. In the best tradition of competition, Armstrong's rival cyclists hailed his record-breaking feat, Ivan Basso of Italy calling him "supersonic." But poor sportsmanship, and bad politics, infected some of the fans during the Alpine leg of the race, in which two Germans spat at Armstrong, and another, wearing a "F*** Bush" T-shirt, chased after him. (Jean-Marie Leblanc, director of the Tour, called the foul fans "idiots.") Sport in general has become more gross in recent years, from tennis tantrums to soccer violence. It is sad to see the manners of Old Europe touching the Tour de France. Of course, John Kerry would put a stop to it by working with our allies.

CAMPAIGN 2004

Duties Shirked

We learned more about John Kerry's kindness to children and small animals than we did about his Iraq policy at the Democratic convention. He did not say that we were wrong to overthrow Saddam Hussein. Neither did he say that we were right. He did not even congratulate our troops for ending his

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tyranny (and that of the Taliban). He did not say that Bush had made us safer than we were on the morning of September 11, nor that he had exposed us to more danger. But what Kerry did say was nonetheless revealing.

He suggested (as he has stated more forthrightly before) that President Bush had "misled" America into war with Iraq. As Dick Cheney notes, he is accusing the president of reaching the same conclusion, based on the same data, that he did. Kerry said that America's "time-honored tradition" has been to go to war only because we have to, never because we want to—implying that President Bush had broken this rule in Iraq. He suggested that he would wage war against "real and imminent" threats. But there will always be a dispute about the dimensions of a threat while it is gathering. Whether to take military action now—whether such action is necessary to reduce the risks—will always involve choice. To take Kerry's distinction seriously is to rule out the possibility of pre-emptive action and to be willing to go to war only in response to attacks that have already taken place (the view of most Democrats in polls). Such rules are very far from the American historical experience, whatever Kerry says.

Kerry said he would get other countries to participate in Iraq, "to get the job done and bring our troops home." (After the convention, he said that he had a plan to effect this participation but would not disclose its details.) He was far more specific about getting the troops out of Iraq than about any particular goal there, such as ensuring that the country does not again become a center of anti-American activity. Kerry's remarks on the desirability of allies, meanwhile, simply bogs him down further in the question of "wars of choice." He says he "will never give any nation or international institution a veto over our national security." So if someone attacks us, he will not check with Paris before responding. To what extent will he allow Paris to affect our response to more ambiguous threats? His record gives us no reason to trust his judgment in this matter; nor does his rhetoric about wanting vs. having to make war.

For Kerry, what it was important for us to know is that he is a patriot and that accusations to the contrary—not that anyone has made them—are affronts to democracy. The message of the convention was that nobody can question the patriotism of someone who served honorably and with distinction in Vietnam, and has the support of many other people who did so. But neither his service nor the tributes of veterans can establish that his slander of other Vietnam veterans as war criminals, a slander for which he has never apologized, was less than disgraceful. Nor can it establish that his national-security judgment is wiser than his record in office suggests. If all Kerry learned in Vietnam was that American power can go wrong, then his service, however honorable, subtracted from his qualification for office.

Speaking of honor: After accusing Bush of having misled the country into a war he "wanted" to wage—he declined to provide a theory about Bush's motive—and after a week in which his fellow Democrats accused Bush of everything from pining for segregation (Al Sharpton) to draft-dodging (Jimmy Carter, Bill Clinton), Kerry urged Bush to run a positive campaign rather than a divisive one. He immediately added that Bush could start by ending his misuse of the Constitution "for political purposes." The media, of course, went along with the Democrats' spin that they had refrained from bashing Bush. They didn't question Kerry's shaky statistics about declining wages, or his dubious linkage of asthma rates to Bush's environmental policies, or his questionable promise to pay for all his new programs. But none of this is especially shocking.

John Kerry has not made a compelling case for a term as president, and has largely failed in his duty to try. It is now up to President Bush to do better.

AT WAR

The Commission Reports

THE 9/11 commission issued a report with many policy recommendations. President Bush endorsed the call for a new national intelligence director and the establishment of a National Counterterrorism Center. He is hurrying to keep up with John Kerry, who had endorsed all of the commission's complicated bureaucratic recommendations in a matter of 48 hours and insisted they be adopted "with great haste." What appears to be about to happen is a typical Washington travesty in which a complex idea like creating a national intelligence director with authority over all the intelligence operations spread throughout the government becomes the flavor of the month and is passed in a rush to "do something." The commission compares its proposed reforms to the Goldwater-Nichols Act of 1986 that modernized the military and created increased "jointness." But that legislation was debated and carefully thought through for years. That both Kerry (who has demagogically set the pace here) and Bush are willing to short-circuit this process for a cheap election-year soundbite is absurd.

No one should overestimate the value of shuffling the organizational charts. It won't automatically create better intelligence.

That said, it could be that the commission's reforms will turn out, after serious consideration, to make sense. We are relying on a management structure for intelligence that was built for the Cold War; rewiring it for the War on Terror could be useful. But no one should overestimate the value of shuffling the organizational charts. It won't automatically create better intelligence. We would do better to look to the lessons of other democracies facing a similar threat, whether Britain against the IRA or Israel against Palestinian terrorists, to discover how to do the down-and-dirty work of penetrating and disrupting a vicious enemy. The 9/11 commission's recommendations that the CIA in particular build up its analytic capabilities, focus on human intelligence, and develop a stronger language program all are welcome, but the most important change would be fostering an institutional culture

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that welcomes creativity and risk-taking, something for which gotcha politicians have little appetite in the real world.

Indeed, the overarching theme of the commission's historical narrative is that both the Clinton and Bush administrations weren't imaginative and forward-looking enough in dealing with a gathering threat. This critique should be read as an endorsement, in essence, of Bush's aggressive post-9/11 approach. The commission, to be sure, did not dare explicitly approve of pre-emption or say that law enforcement is a flawed model for fighting terrorism. While such commissions are meant to tackle issues too difficult for ordinary politicians, they are often creatures of convention. We should not be surprised that many of the commission's proposals were calls for such things as more public diplomacy and international aid. At best, these are useful supplements to the War on Terror; they are hardly substitutes for it.

The commission deserves credit, however, for saying explicitly that the United States is fighting "Islamic terrorism." Defeating it means bolstering the forces of reform and modernization in the Islamic world. Bush critics do not acknowledge how Iraq, where a decent government with legitimate democratic aspirations has replaced a radical tyranny, fits into this picture. Ultimately, the War on Terror will be won "over there," not in bureaucratic flow charts.

notes & asides

■ Dear Bill: I have had a delightful time absorbing your *Miles Gone By*. I did note in your book that the Printer's Devil slipped in a typo on page 175. *Anni horribili* should be *anni horribiles* as the plural of *annus horribilis*. Different declensions. (In evidence of the pliancy, or perversity, of the classical Roman mind, "horrible" can also mean "wonderful" and "astonishing.")

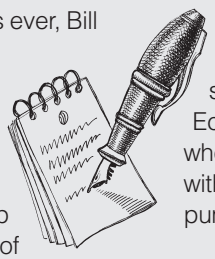
I am sure there will be many new printings of the book, so you might want to note that. This is not pedantry: We well remember that the fate of civilization depended on one iota during the homoousion controversy at Nicaea, later resolved at the First Council of Constantinople.

Custos linguae latinae,
Rev. George W. Rutler
New York, N.Y

Dear Father Rutler: Thanks for the correction. You prompted me to look at my own book, *Nearer My God*, for elucidation. There I found (page 41):

> To explore these questions thoroughly you'd have to familiarize yourself with many definitions pronounced, one after another, during the first few hundred years after Christ. Almost always these definitions came about as a result of heuristic challenges to current orthodoxy. The Arian heresy, for example, held that Jesus was something other than God. "If God the Son was begotten of the Father, does that not imply that the Father existed before Him?" (The answer to that question, before we move on, is yes, it would seem to imply exactly that.) This contention was held to be mortally dangerous to a correct understanding of the Incarnation and so the Fathers convened for the first General Council, in Nicaea, in the year 325. The consensus was that Christ was consubstantial with the Father, of one substance; and to relay that conclusion the word "homoousian" (from the Greek *homoousios*, "of the same substance") was selected as applying to Christ. In so declaring, the Fathers were confident that no Christian who acknowledged the homoousian nature of Jesus could go on to err about his godhood.

As ever, Bill



■ Dear Mr. Buckley: I hope this note is only one of many which you will receive calling attention to a grammatical slip on the final paragraph of Matthew Scully's otherwise commendable article on the National Cathedral service for Ronald Reagan. "And then off he went, as soon as Reverend Danforth. . ." The word "Reverend" is an adjective, not a title, and the phrase should have gone like this: "And then off he went, as soon as the Reverend Mister [or Doctor or John] Danforth. . . "

One can only surmise that the copyeditor was lulled into complacency by the correct treatment of this somewhat arcane problem in two instances in the third paragraph of the article. Could it be that I am fighting a losing battle considering the widespread acceptance and usage of this grammatical abomination in many if not most fundamentalist circles? Your thoughts?

Sincerely,
Robert M. Parrish
Florence, Ala.

Dear Mr. Parrish: I think you're right, it's probably a losing battle. But that doesn't mean it's not worth fighting, right?

Cordially, WFB

■ Dear Mr. Buckley: What's the world coming to—WFB calling John Kenneth Galbraith "probably the most influential U.S. intellectual of the 20th century"? (NR, May 3)

I have been teaching economics for about forty years and once even taught a (horrendously stupid) mini-course called "The Economics of J. K. Galbraith." Anyone who teaches such a course (especially with such a course title) deserves to be punished under sharia.

What a pity you did not ask him about his profound discovery, the "Convergence Hypothesis"! Some people consider him a social critic and not an economist. He is certainly not in the same league as Milton Friedman and Paul Samuelson. And, Bush should be denounced for his ignorance of Ricardo? If that were the criterion to question conservative credentials, Bush may be in good company. Even many young economics professors may be innocent of Ricardian theories.

Sincerely,
K. R. Nair
Professor Emeritus of Economics
West Virginia Wesleyan College
Buckhannon, W.Va.

—WFB

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■ CAMPAIGN 2004 ■

The Politics of Silence

Democrats don't want to talk about certain things; neither do Republicans

RAMESH PONNURU

THE delegates in Boston believed that John Kerry will be our next president. But they were a disciplined bunch, and they did not ratchet up their demands on the candidate. Instead, they went along with his strategy of not embracing their positions, or any positions, on social issues or the war.

Neither Kerry nor John Edwards pledged to defend abortion rights in his convention speech. At the three previous Democratic conventions, that pledge was made by either the presidential nominee, the vice-presidential nominee, or both. Kerry not only refused to utter the word "abortion." He did not even use the euphemism "the right to choose."

Other convention speakers were almost as reticent. Kerry's daughter Alexandra allowed that "we want our children . . . to control their own bodies." New York congresswoman Louise Slaughter, who has devoted much of her career in the House to abortion rights, had a line about it. But for the most part, the speakers, and especially the prime-time speakers, followed the ticket's lead in not mentioning the subject. Even Nancy Pelosi. The convention also shied away from the topic of judges. Blocking Bush's judges is a top priority of the delegates, but Al Gore was the only major speaker to discuss the issue.

Kerry was coy on same-sex marriage, too. He spoke in political code: "Let's never misuse for political purposes the most precious document in American history, the Constitution of the United States." The delegates understood that he was talking about the proposed Federal Marriage Amendment, but it's unlikely that many voters did—which appears to be what he intended. Other convention speakers were reportedly told not to mention same-sex marriage, or the amendment. Not even Barney Frank defended gay marriage, exactly; he said only that gay couples should have a way to make legal commitments to each other.

Silence reigned on guns, as well. Clinton mentioned the assault-weapons ban, which is due to expire in September. The rest of the speakers ignored the topic.

The media have regarded social issues as a great Democratic strength and Republican weakness. Yet on all the traditional social issues, the Boston Democrats were defensive. They will not compromise on policy: Kerry and Edwards voted against even recognizing that assaults on pregnant women have two victims. But they are much more eager to talk about their religiosity and patriotism than about their policy views. ("We welcome people of faith," said Kerry.) The only social issue where the Democrats were aggressive was embryonic stem-cell research, which doesn't concern as many voters as the other issues, in part because it confuses them.

Precisely because much of our politics is organized around social issues, politicians try to avoid discussing them. Harping on the country's most emotional divisions does not pay electoral dividends. But the reticence of the Boston Democrats was too extreme to be attributed only to the public's aversion to social-issues talk. They seem to consider the liberal position on abortion and associated questions to be a loser, in a way they did not before. The day the convention opened, the *Los Angeles Times* ran a story in which abortion-rights activists complained that Kerry's statements that human life begins at conception and that he opposes abortion "personally" were demoralizing pro-abortion voters. The Kerry campaign did nothing in the next week to assuage these activists. This is a momentous political shift.

The Democrats were not as defensive about the Iraq war as about social issues. But they were almost as evasive. The evasiveness about Iraq has several sources. Kerry does not have compelling alternatives to Bush's policy. (The desire that other countries shoulder some of the burden of Iraq is a hope, not an alternative.) Kerry also has to work around an infamously contorted record on Iraq.

The delegates in Boston had the clarity of conviction: They think the war was wrong, and want to exit Iraq. Kerry tries to gesture toward their views, without alienating those voters who favored the Iraq war but may be open to voting for him. Another reason for his elusiveness may be that he senses that voters want conflicting things from the candidate. They want a president who will be tough enough to deal with a world revealed to be dangerous on September 11. Hence Democrats' frequent invocations of Kerry's Vietnam service, their even more frequent references to his "strength," the tributes to him from veterans, his call for more troops, and Senator Edwards's remarks about killing terrorists.

Kerry, as a post-9/11 candidate, wants people to think that he would fight the war on terrorism more effectively, because more intelligently, than Bush. He has won the support of liberal hawks, who are small in number but influential in the media. These hawks have spent the last year and a

KERRY AND VIETNAM VET JIM RASSMANN IN BOSTON 7/29/04 GARY HERSHORN/REUTERS

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half complaining that the incumbent is an unreliable ally in fighting for freedom in the Middle East, while proving that they themselves are unreliable allies in any venture that arouses the opposition of the Democratic base.

But there is a 9/10 Kerry, who realizes that voters also seem to long to go back to a time when they did not have to worry about orange alerts. Kerry has been playing more and more explicitly on this sentiment. In July, Kerry asked this rhetorical question of Larry King: "What American would not trade the economy we had in the 1990s, the fact that we were not at war and young Americans were not deployed?" Some of Kerry's hawkish supporters saw in his convention speech the rebirth of "Cold War liberalism." Yet Kerry is no John F. Kennedy. That president said that America would "pay any price, bear any burden . . . to assure the survival and the success of liberty." Kerry thinks that the burden on us is too high, and that foreigners should be doing more of the paying, and the dying.

"We shouldn't be opening firehouses in Baghdad and closing them down in the United States of America," he said. (Demagogically: America, which has fewer fires every year, needs fewer firehouses than it has, while Iraq needs more.) This Kerry promises not to send more troops to Iraq. This Kerry says that he will wage wars only "because we have to," never "because we want to." This Kerry could not even bring himself to acknowledge, in his convention speech, that America had overthrown tyrannies in Afghanistan and Iraq—not even to salute our armed forces. For the Boston Democrats, it was acceptable to portray our troops as victims (of Bush's policies), but not to suggest that they had accomplished or were accomplishing anything.

Republicans would love to make Kerry's positions on Iraq a "character issue." They argue that he has been consistent only in basing his decisions about war and peace on his political needs of the moment. It is a damning charge, and true. But the war has saddled Bush with a character issue of his own. Bush "misled" the country into war, charges Kerry. More hotheaded Democratic partisans say that "Bush lied" and "people died" (to quote the button distributed at the convention by *The Nation*).

Bush is said to have "lied" principally about two things. The first is Saddam Hussein's role in 9/11: Opponents of the war say that the administration encouraged Americans to think that he was involved. These critics are right, after a fashion. The administration did encourage Americans to think that Iraq played a role in 9/11: not by sending officials to make misleading comments on shows few Americans watch, but by invading Iraq. Regime change in Iraq was a defensible response to 9/11, but it was bound to lead people to jump to conclusions about Iraq's role in the attacks. As the media harped on the lack of evidence for an Iraqi role in 9/11—a point irrelevant to the real strategic case for the war—people were bound to feel disillusioned.

The second "lie," about weapons of mass destruction, has been even more damaging for Bush. In the run-up to the war, the administration for various reasons emphasized that Iraq was trying to get, and might well already have, weapons of mass destruction. When the weapons were not found, and Bush did not move immediately to explain himself, public confidence in him fell. It would have been amazing if it had not fallen. So now John Kerry can claim, as his signature promise, that he will "restore trust and credibility to the White House."

If he had not gone to war in Iraq, Bush might be cruising to a comfortable re-election. The public would not have been soured by the WMD controversy, or the casualties and uncertainties of the occupation. The economy would have recovered more quickly. As it is, however, the war has hurt Bush in a way that makes it hard for him to launch certain attacks on Kerry.

We are left in a curiously argument-free campaign. Kerry wants to become president by running cautiously. Instead of truly making the case for himself as a better fighter of terrorism than Bush, he wants to persuade people only that Bush has failed and that he is an acceptable alternative. In the most minimalist version of the strategy, he assumes that people have already concluded that Bush has failed and that all he has to do is make himself acceptable. So he has no Iraq policy, and takes no stands on divisive social issues. It would seem to be up to President Bush to convince the public that he was right to go into Iraq and that he is winning the peace now. It is a difficult situation for an administration that has only rarely and fitfully attempted to convince the public of anything. **NR**

■ **CAMPAIGN 2004 II**

Their True Selves

Where could the Democrats let it all hang out? Not in the convention center.

BYRON YORK

If you watched only the events of the Democratic convention that took place inside Boston's Fleet Center, you might have gotten the impression that Democrats have changed. They're hawkish on defense, and while they certainly oppose George W. Bush, they're no longer inclined to call him a fascist.

That's what you saw on TV. But if you left the heavily-secured confines of the Fleet Center, and traveled around Boston to visit the hotels and meeting rooms in which Democrats gathered to discuss the campaign away from the national spotlight, you would have gotten a much different impression. There, the Democrats of convention week sounded remarkably like the trash-talking, Bush-bashing Democrats of the primary season.

Much of this talking went on at what amounted to a counter-convention held at the Royal Sonesta Hotel in Cambridge, just across the Charles River. The left-wing organizing group Campaign for America's Future set up shop there, and their conference gave the party's "progressive" activists a place to say what they really thought.

Former Vermont governor Howard Dean, for example, spoke to the group a few hours before he addressed the convention. His speech was the kind of run-on, semi-mad, semi-brilliant talk that Dean gave many times back in November and December 2003, when he was the odds-on favorite to win his party's nomination.

Do you remember when Dean stirred controversy by claiming that the capture of Saddam Hussein had not made America any safer? He said it again at the Royal Sonesta, shouting, "Less safe! Less safe!" as the crowd cheered. Do you remember when Dean claimed that white southern

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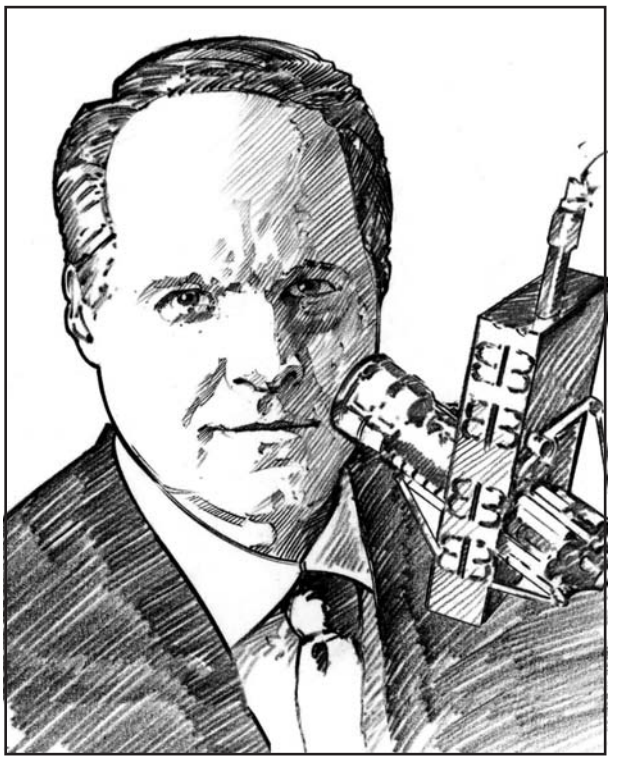
JUSTICE FOR ALL?

Richard Paey

25 YEARS



Rush Limbaugh

TREATMENT

As Richard Paey sits in his cell, wheelchair bound, a subdermal pump delivers a steady flow of morphine to kill the back pain from a 1985 car crash. The 45-year-old father of three used to handle the pain with prescription narcotics, but when he moved to Florida he couldn't find a doctor willing to prescribe the appropriate amount of medication. They feared a loss of license or even prison. Like so many others, Paey was forced to use questionable prescriptions and got arrested. He refused to be forced into treatment for addiction because he's a legitimate pain patient. Now the state is providing his narcotics, along with room and board, at a cost to the taxpayers of perhaps $80,000 a year.

"Write a prescription, go to jail. Doctors get sued for overtreating pain, for undertreating pain...and they can get prosecuted for the overdoses of patients."
-Roanoke Times, 23 May 2004

When Florida narcotics officers busted talk show host Rush Limbaugh for buying large quantities of Oxycontin and other narcotics on the black market, he checked himself into a treatment center. After five weeks of rehab, he is back on the air. Mr. Limbaugh's illegal drug buys, over 90 pills a day at one point, make Richard Paey's pale by comparision. And while Mr. Limbaugh's use of narcotics began with severe back pain, he continued using long after the pain was gone. To catch addicts like Mr. Limbaugh, the government is targeting doctors, and the doctors are becoming so gun-shy they don't want to risk dealing with chronic pain patients at all.

NEITHER SHOULD BE PUT IN PRISON.

Pain patients and addicts need medical help, not confinement

CommonSenseDrugPolicy.org, Mike Gray, Chair; Robert Field, Co-Chair
DrugWarFacts.org, MedicalMJ.org, AddictInTheFamily.org

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voters choose candidates on the basis of "guns, God, and gays"? He said that again, too—to more cheers. Dean also jokingly implored Democrats not to call President Bush a fascist, at least not for the duration of the convention. And he implored the crowd to volunteer for local campaigns, even for lowly offices like library trustee, because "I think library trustee is a pretty important position in an administration where they like book burning better than reading books."

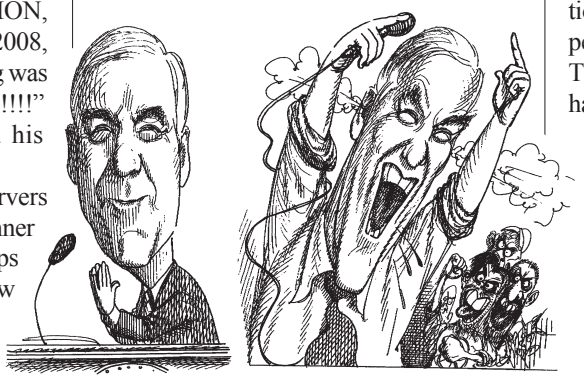
It was vintage Dean, and the crowd erupted into a long, continuous roar when Dean reached his conclusion, which was strikingly similar in structure to the infamous "I Have a Scream" speech, delivered the night of the Iowa caucuses. "WE'RE GOING TO GO TO MISSISSIPPI AND ALABAMA AND IDAHO," Dean yelled, "AND SOONER OR LATER, ONE BY ONE, ELECTION BY ELECTION, VOTE BY VOTE, IN 2006, AND 2008, AND 2012 . . ." All that was missing was the visceral "YAAAARRRRHHHH!!!!!!" that ended the Iowa speech—and his presidential hopes.

Dean's performance led some observers to speculate that the former front-runner was back to his old ways—and perhaps off the Kerry reservation. Who knew what he might say at the convention that night?

The answer was: nothing. When Dean walked onstage at the Fleet Center, he was not only back under control, but seemingly muzzled. There was nothing about Saddam, or book burning, or fascism, or guns, God, and gays. There was not a single mention of George W. Bush by name. And there was no rousing conclusion. Dean had come under what one frustrated activist called "the Kerry Effect," in which the nominee's cautious advisers had drained almost all substance from Dean's speech. "Why you would have your lions acting like pussycats is beyond me," the activist said.

Another favorite, Ohio representative Dennis Kucinich, also fell victim to the Kerry Effect. Speaking at the Royal Sonesta prior to his own address to the convention, Kucinich waxed eloquent about his pet proposal, the creation of a federal Department of Peace. Kucinich also charged, as he often did on the stump, that the Bush administration had planned the war in Iraq long before September 11, 2001, and simply used the terrorist attacks as a pretense to start shooting. "This war was preconceived," Kucinich said. "Wait for an opportunity, use 9/11 as an excuse to prosecute it, and then from that build a whole architecture of fear and military spending to try to lock it far into the future to continue to insulate this argument of the inevitability of war."

When Kucinich finished, one of his supporters yelled out, "Say it tonight, Dennis! Say it tonight!" But when Kucinich appeared on stage at the Fleet Center, he said very little. Nothing about the Department of Peace. Nothing about the neocon-conspiracy theory of Iraq, either. Instead, Kucinich launched into a somewhat mystical meditation on how Democrats will "transform [the nation] with the power of the human heart and the power of the human spirit."



The inside Dean; the outside Dean

By then, Democrats knew they wouldn't be getting any red meat from the convention stage. Perhaps that is why the counter-convention events were so popular. And the most popular of all was the appearance of the party's biggest star, moviemaker Michael Moore, who spoke at the Royal Sonesta the same day as Dean.

Hours before Moore appeared, hundreds of people had formed a line through the lobby of the hotel, out the door, and down the sidewalk. Moore was scheduled to speak a few minutes after Dean, but he was late—very late, as it turned out—and organizers fretted and vamped to keep the crowd from growing restless with the suspicion that their hero might not appear. When Moore finally showed up, all was forgiven, and he gave the crowd what it wanted to hear.

Most of all, Moore told the activists that Republicans are very, very bad people. "They're not patriots," he said of the GOP. "They're hate-triots, and they believe in the politics of hate-triotism. Hate-triotism is where they stand, and patriotism is where real Americans stand."

Moore said that Republicans will do almost anything to stay in power this November. "Believe me, they are better fighters than we are," he said. "I mean, they are up at six in the morning trying to figure out which minority group they're going to screw today." Democrats would have to fight hard, and be on guard, because Republicans "are going to fight, and they are going to smear, and they are going to lie, and they are going to hate."

It is hard to overstate just how much that sort of talk pleases the type of crowd that gathered at the Royal Sonesta. Their sense of grievance dates back to the Clinton impeachment and includes the 2000 election dispute and everything that has happened so far in the Bush administration. They believe, sincerely, that Democrats have lacked the courage to stand up to the president. So for them, Moore's speech represented the kind of fighting-back spirit that was nowhere to be found at the Fleet Center.

Similar events were happening all around Boston during convention week. Anti-Bush radio host Al Franken appeared at various places in town, delivering his "Bush is a liar" routine. Clinton loyalist Sidney Blumenthal did the same sort of thing, without the jokes. And Robert F. Kennedy Jr., son of the late senator and nephew of the late president, used the occasion to launch what was perhaps the week's most incendiary attack on the Bush administration. Calling it the product of "the kind of corporate crony capitalism where you have large corporations running our government," Kennedy said, "There's a name for that, and the name is fascism."

Of course, you probably didn't hear about that—according to a search of the Nexis database, Kennedy's "fascism" remark has yet to be reported in any newspaper, magazine, or television newscast. Some of the counter-convention events, like the Dean and Moore speeches, received a bit of news coverage, but in the end, most of their words went unreported. Perhaps that frustrated the activists who organized the events. But it probably suited the Kerry campaign just fine. **NR**

ROMAN GENN

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Egypt

Is it a factor for peace in the Middle East?

In 1979, under the stewardship of President Jimmy Carter, Israel and Egypt signed the Camp David peace treaty, by which Israel committed itself to yield the Sinai to Egypt, together with all its material and strategic assets. The whole world hoped that this historic handshake would indeed finally bring peace and tranquility to the troubled Middle East.

What are the facts?

An implacable enemy. Egypt is Israel's most implacable enemy. It was the key player and military leader in the 1948 assault on the nascent Jewish state. Almost miraculously, Israel was able to defeat the combined Arab might. Egypt remained in occupation of the Gaza strip.

But thirsting for revenge, Egypt – together with Jordan and Syria – attacked Israel again in 1967. In a brilliant campaign that will be studied in war colleges for centuries, Israel, in six days, utterly destroyed the Arab war machine. At the end of that war, Israel stayed in possession of the the vast Sinai.

> "If Egypt does indeed launch war against Israel, it could ultimately include weapons of mass destruction. It is up to the world, to prevent this disaster, if it is still possible!"

Instead of licking its wounds, Egypt, after its rout in the Six Day War, almost immediately engaged in a war of attrition against Israel. That war lasted for years. Egypt never ceased in its attempt to destroy Israel. The hostility culminated once again on Yom Kipper of 1973, when the Egyptian armed forces, in coordination with Syria, once again launched a major war against Israel. Israel once again prevailed. Only urgent intervention by the United States and others brought about a truce and prevented the total annihilation of the Egyptian force.

In the 1979 Camp David peace treaty Israel yielded the Sinai to Egypt together with all the assets it had developed there. Still, Israelis of all political persuasions were almost giddy with hope and anticipation that their most implacable enemy had opted for peace. Finally, the talented people of Israel could now bring the promise and the potential of the Jewish homeland to full fruition.

A terrible disappointment. The disappointment was almost immediate. Anwar Sadat was assassinated by one of his own terrorist countrymen. He had to die, for no other reason than for having denied the Arab mantra: No peace, no negotiation, and no recognition of Israel.

Israel had envisioned its peace with Egypt as that between the United States and Canada. But that was not to be. Right from the very beginning, travel was harshly discouraged and strictly controlled by Egypt. Trade was non-existent. Israel's ambassador to Cairo was under virtual house arrest. He was never included in any official function. The Egyptian press, tightly controlled by the government, initiated an orgy of anti-Semitic publicity, highlighted by hateful cartoons rivaling those of the "Stürmar," the notorious Nazi hate sheet. There hasn't been an Egyptian ambassador in Israel for over three years.

Egypt is no friend of the United States. It consistently votes against our country's interest in the forums of the United Nations. In order to get Egypt to agree to the Camp David peace in 1979, the United States committed itself to aid Egypt to the tune of $2.2 billion per year. Only about $.9 billion of that is earmarked as "economic aid." The balance, over $1.3 billion, is for military aid.

Egypt has the largest armed forces in the entire Middle East, in manpower and in equipment. It has recently supplemented its navy with eleven new battle cruisers. It has placed four recent orders for F-16's, totaling 190 new planes. It has acquired 180 Hawk and 1,000 Hellfire missiles. It has already received delivery of 24 Apache helicopters and it expects to receive twelve more. The armored corps is comprised of the most modern U.S. tanks. Egypt is bordered by Libya, Sudan and Israel. It doesn't take much imagination to figure out against which of these countries all of this armament, all of this military power is directed. It's toward Israel, of course.

What does the U.S. hope to accomplish by arming this mortal enemy of Israel, which is still bent on the destruction of the Jewish state? Since Israel is the one immutable ally of the United States in the entire region, a country we can always count on, it is hard to understand why our government would be participatory in Israel's possible destruction. It makes no sense at all.

There can be no question that Egypt is once again girding for war against Israel – either alone or with the enthusiastic collaboration of other Muslim nations. Legislation has been introduced in Congress to reduce and eventually eliminate altogether the $1.3 billion annual military aid that Egypt receives from us. But even if that were to succeed, it may already be too late. If Egypt does indeed launch war against Israel, it could ultimately include weapons of mass destruction. It is up to the world to prevent this disaster, if it is still possible.

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■ CAMPAIGN 2004 III

There He Goes Again—Again

Jimmy in Beantown

JAY NORDLINGER

At the Democratic convention, Michael Moore sat with Jimmy Carter (and Rosalynn). Many commentators thought that remarkable. It was less remarkable to those of us who have followed Carter closely—and know that his views on America and American foreign policy are often indistinguishable from Moore's. The filmmaker said that Carter had told him, "There's no one I'd rather sit with." Again, believable to all of us who have engaged in the depressing study of Carterology.

Indeed, we're always complaining that Carter is little known, famous though he is. People—including conservatives—think of him as a kindly man, busy with building houses for the poor and mediating conflicts around the world. He may be a little naïve (goes this view), but he means well. Those are lovely thoughts—but they are off the mark. Carter is actually tough and harsh, radical and mean. Steven F. Hayward gets at this in his recent book, *The Real Jimmy Carter*. Even an admiring book—Douglas Brinkley's *The Unfinished Presidency*—contains sickening revelations.

Time magazine's Lance Morrow has referred to Carter aptly as a kind of "anti-president." And that anti-president is no stranger to opposing action in the Persian Gulf. In the run-up to the 1991 war, he secretly wrote to members of the U.N. Security Council, in an effort to block what President Bush was trying to do. He failed (Carter, that is). Last year, the Security Council opposed the president named Bush—but he invaded Iraq anyway, much to the dismay of President Carter.

Right before the Iraq War, Carter gave an interview to the London *Daily Mirror*, one of the most viciously anti-war publications in Christendom. It had showed, on its front page, an image of Tony Blair with blood dripping from his hands. Carter said, "You're doing a good job. I am glad about that. War is evil." The article quoted a friend of Carter's, who divulged that the ex-president had said, "Our State Department never gets upset about anything unless white skin or oil is involved." Those words sound like our man.

After the war, Carter said to another British paper—the *Independent*—"There was no reason for us to become involved in Iraq recently. That was a war based on lies . . ."

So Carter's views on this subject are unmistakable—and at one with the Democratic convention, even if the rhetoric from the podium tended to be moderate.

Carter was introduced by the convention's chairman, Bill Richardson, who hailed him for, among other things, airline deregulation. (That was just.) Then a tribute film was shown, ending with Carter's acceptance of the Nobel Peace Prize two years ago. (Carter had long and brazenly lobbied for the prize.) Left out of the film was the admission by the Nobel committee's chairman, Gunnar Berge, that Carter had been selected in protest of Bush-administration policies.

In a way, it was touching to see Carter up there, this president elected almost 30 years ago, in one of the most amazing campaigns ever. Now in his 80th year, Carter is a little weak of voice, but he's as feisty as ever, and more vitriolic. (It is said by insiders, however, that no matter how vitriolic or contemptuous Carter becomes, Mrs. Carter can outdo him.)

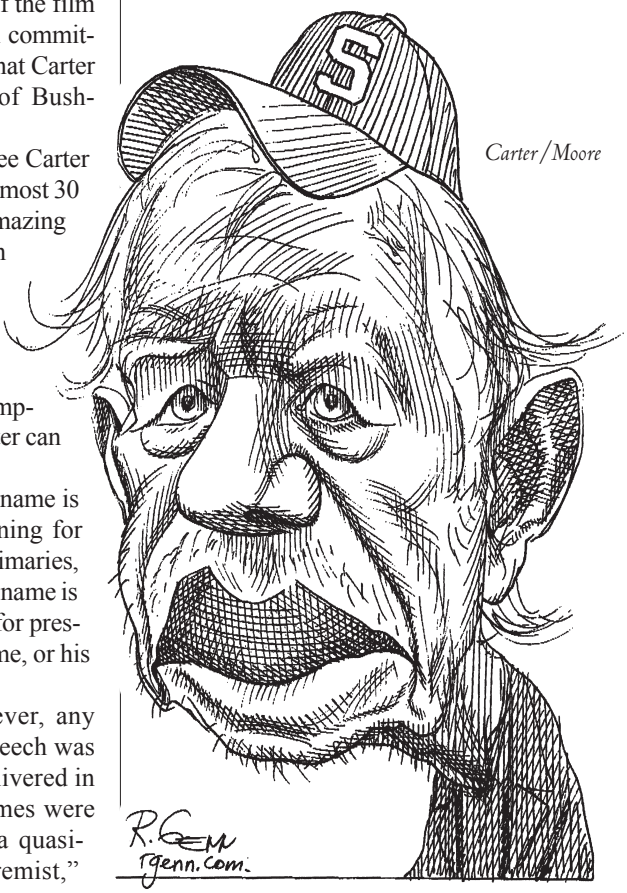
He began rather wittily: "My name is Jimmy Carter and I'm *not* running for president." (Early in the 1976 primaries, his recurring line had been, "My name is Jimmy Carter, and I'm running for president"—for no one knew his name, or his purpose.)

After that beginning, however, any charm disappeared. Carter's speech was a scorcher, despite its being delivered in a soft Georgia accent. His themes were a) that George W. Bush was a quasi-deserter, b) that he is an "extremist," c) that he is a warmonger, and d) that he is a liar. No one at the convention was nastier; only two, according to my scorecard, matched him: Ted Kennedy (Carter's 1980 opponent) and Al Sharpton.

He cited Harry Truman and Dwight Eisenhower, saying that both had "faced their active military responsibilities with honor"—unlike whom? "They knew the horrors of war, and later, as commanders-in-chief, they exercised restraint and judgment . . ."—unlike whom? (One observer remarked that it was interesting to see Carter endorse, by implication, the atomic bombing of Japan.) Furthermore, those presidents did not "mislead us when it came to issues involving our nation's security"—again, unlike whom?

As for John Kerry, "He showed up when assigned to duty . . ." If this was not a Bush-AWOL allusion, I'll eat my hat.

Carter touched lightly on domestic affairs, saying that policies should be "shaped by working American families instead of the super-rich and their armies of lobbyists." But mainly he wanted to talk about what he regards as the disaster and sin of Bush's wars and foreign policy.



Carter/Moore

ROMAN GENN

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Orthodox Catholics Shall Never Surrender

There have been many inspiring initiatives taken by orthodox Catholics lately in the areas of education, publishing, TV, radio, the Internet, and vocations, but liberal Catholics still control most of the levers of power and influence in the U.S. Church. It's still rare to hear a sermon forthrightly opposing abortion, contraception, premarital sex, homosexuality, consumerism, or pornography. Vatican efforts to restore reverence to the liturgy have fallen on deaf ears. The wreckovation of our churches and cathedrals continues apace, with new monstrosities being built from scratch. The decade-long effort by the Holy See to re-Catholicize our institutions of higher learning has been sabotaged.

The sexual perversion in the priesthood and episcopate has hardly been dealt with. Although there is a strong policy on the sexual abuse of *minors* (nevertheless obstructed by certain bishops), nothing has been done about homosexual clerics who are sexually active with *adults*, including fellow clerics. The Lavender Mafia, where homosexuals protect and promote their own, is still riding high.

Moreover, liberal Catholics are confident of victory because they have the full force of the *Zeitgeist* — our decadent Western culture — on their side.

Yes, we orthodox Catholics still have our backs to the wall. *But so what?* St. Athanasius had his back to the wall. So did St. Thomas More. And so did Winston Churchill at the beginning of World War II. None of them capitulated. A mere 18 days before the fall of France, Churchill said that even if all the Continent should fall to the Axis powers, "We shall not flag or fail.... We shall fight in the seas and oceans...we shall fight on the beaches...we shall fight in the fields and in the streets, we shall fight in the hills; we shall never surrender...."

The struggle ahead is difficult. We know that many loyal Catholics feel beset on all sides — outmanned, outgunned, isolated. That too was Britain's plight. She stood alone. But she did not flinch — and she prevailed.

St. Paul urges us to "fight the good fight" (1Tim. 6:12). And so, to paraphrase Churchill on the day after the fall of France, let us orthodox Catholics brace ourselves against those who collaborate with the *Zeitgeist* and let us so steel ourselves for victory that even a thousand years from now men will say, *This was their finest hour.*

To get yourself in fighting trim, you must read the NEW OXFORD REVIEW, an orthodox Catholic monthly magazine that candidly addresses all the problems in the Church — and takes no prisoners. We're "Catholicism's intellectual prizefighter," says the ace Catholic apologist Karl Keating, and we "belong in every loyal Catholic's arsenal," says the indomitable Fr. Joseph Fessio. Among those who've written for us are Walker Percy, James Hitchcock, Alice von Hildebrand, Fr. Stanley L. Jaki, and Michael S. Rose (whose book *Goodbye, Good Men* stirred up a hornets' nest).

We shall never surrender, and we shall prevail. The Barque of Peter is in violently turbulent waters and is assailed on all sides, but we are assured by our Lord that the Gates of Hell will never swallow her. *Semper fluctibus agitata et semper victrix* ("always tossed about by the waves and always victorious").

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He made the requisite Democratic charge that Bush has cost all of us the respect of the world, and that this respect must be regained. In the last many years, Carter has repeatedly voiced his embarrassment at America; it is a leitmotif of his vaunted post-presidency. Somewhat infamously, he told the Haitian dictator Cédras that he was "ashamed of what my country has done to your country." To the *Daily Mirror*, he said, "Some very embarrassing things have happened in our country" (related to the War on Terror). And so on.

In Boston, Carter emphasized human rights, as he always does, quite aside from how he defines them. He is touted as "the human-rights president." Ronald Reagan and the Bushes have had a hand in human rights, and you could argue that they contributed to the liberation of many millions—but they are not known as human-rights presidents. Curious, that.

Carter declared that "recent policies have cost our nation its reputation as the world's most admired champion of freedom and justice." He has perhaps not canvassed many Afghans or Iraqis. A marked contrast could be seen at the podium later when Sen. Joe Lieberman said of the U.S. military, "They have liberated Afghanistan and Iraq from murderous tyrannies."

Doubtless, there are arguments against the Afghan and Iraq wars, especially the latter. But, no matter how much Carter hated the invasion of Iraq, could he not at least rejoice in—or merely acknowledge—the removal of one of the most evil regimes imaginable? No more chemical gassings, no more "children's prisons," no more "rape rooms," no more cutting out of tongues for dissent? This is the human-rights president, remember.

Carter, as an election observer in Nicaragua, was plainly dejected when the Sandinistas lost to Violeta Chamorro. As Jeane Kirkpatrick once told me, "You would have thought a democrat would be happy." The same today.

In chorus with everyone else, Carter denounced Bush for alleged unilateralism—to him, the Brits, the Aussies, the Italians, the Spaniards, the Poles, and the others must be nothing. Then he moved to what is widely held to be his strong suit, the Middle East peace process. Thanks to Bush, it had "come to a screeching halt." It is true that Bush has not done things the Carter way; it is also true that the situation has changed since the 1970s, and also since the Oslo-freighted 1990s. Carter obviously abhors the Israeli fence and Israel's gambit in Gaza—but progress is being made, if progress can be measured in fewer killings and more realism.

It is also little known how close Carter is to the now-eclipsed Yasser Arafat—meaning, to Arafat personally. Douglas Brinkley's book is eye-popping on this subject, with one memorable scene showing Jimmy and Rosalynn sitting around with the Palestinian boss, bemoaning President Reagan's untrustworthiness.

North Korea? At one point in his speech, Carter said, "North Korea's nuclear menace—a threat far more real and immediate than any posed by Saddam Hussein—has been allowed to advance unheeded . . ." That was rich, given that Carter had never evinced much concern over North Korea before. On the contrary, he has been a perpetual perfumer of Pyongyang. On a legendary visit there (not in a positive sense), he said, "I don't see that they are an outlaw nation." But when it comes to chastising Bush on Iraq—they apparently are.

Back in Boston, Carter said, "We cannot maintain our historic self-confidence as a people if we generate public panic." Is that what we have had in the years since Sept. 11? Is that what the administration has done? There may, in fact, be some undue panic—as there may have been "fear of Communism" that was "inordinate."

Then Carter made what was probably his most emblematic statement: "You can't be a war president one day and claim to be a peace president the next . . ." Here we have the nub of Carter's problem. Other presidents have understood that sometimes—in horrible times—the only way to be a peace president is first to be a war president. Moreover, because some presidents allow threats to gather, other presidents have to make war. Or take unwanted risks. Or engage in unpleasant work.

In 1988, the Republicans made an ad recalling the Carter era, using a parody of the Johnny Mercer song "I Remember You." Yes, we remember him. NR

■ THE NATION

Sharks A-Circling

Trial lawyers are hungry for yet more billions; a vilified Bush-adminstration lawyer stands in their way

DAVID FRUM

QUESTION: What's the most dangerous place on earth? Answer: Between the trial lawyers and their next billion dollars.

Right now, the man occupying that deadly patch of ground is Daniel Troy, chief counsel to the Food and Drug Administration. In recent weeks, Troy has come under screaming attack in the *New York Times* and the *Denver Post*, and on *The CBS Evening News*. Democrats in the House of Representatives voted (with the Republicans intimidated, or asleep) to slash $500,000 from Troy's office's budget. The front page of the *Boston Globe* cited him as an example of everything that's wrong with the Bush administration.

Until now, Troy was just one more smart lawyer in a town full of smart lawyers. Suddenly he has found himself the next Robert Bork.

To understand how Troy got into this predicament, you have to begin by mastering one of the basic rules of Washington: When people want to grab really big money, the first thing they do is emit a lot of complicated jargon. They make their issue seem crushingly boring—and then, while the public is yawning and its eyes are glazing over, whoosh: A huge sum of money is suddenly on its way to new owners. The trial lawyers are employing this familiar trick at this very moment. They are presenting their latest

Mr. Frum is an NR contributing editor and the author, most recently, of *An End to Evil: How to Win the War on Terror* (with Richard Perle).

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scheme as a technical issue of federalism, when it is a gold rush, plain and simple.

Successful lawyers have always made a good living in the United States. But over the past three decades, a series of changes in the way law is practiced has made it possible for a small number of lawyers to become fabulously wealthy by suing big companies in front of local juries. These lawyers began as personal injury lawyers. In the asbestos litigation of the 1980s, some of them became multimillionaires. In the tobacco litigation of the 1990s, others became centimillionaires. Now, in the 21st century, some of them are aspiring to break new records: to create a class of litigator-billionaires, if they can just find a target big and juicy enough.

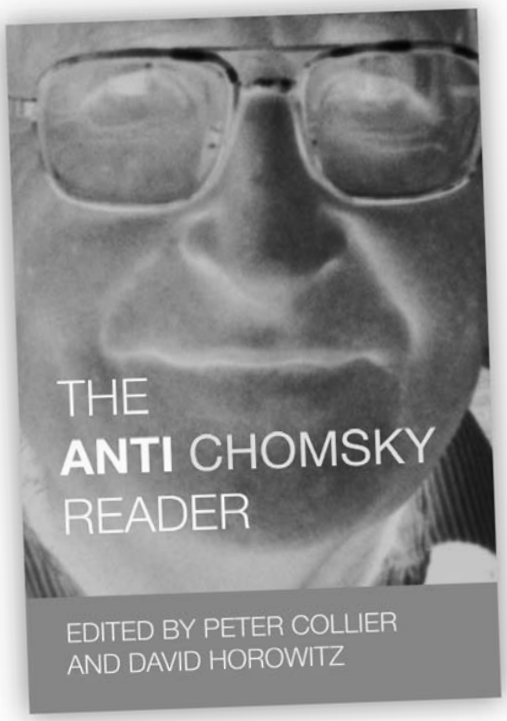
And there's only one such target left: the health-care industry, one-seventh of the U.S. economy.

The trouble for these lawyers is that health care has long been an industry closely regulated by Congress. Congress set national rules for health insurance back in 1974; it began regulating food and drugs as long ago as 1906. And once Congress tells an industry what to do, the states and state courts cannot issue contradictory orders. Lawyers call this principle "preemption," and it is an approach dictated both by the Constitution and by common sense. It is a principle that Democrats and liberals, the champions of federal regulation, should logically strongly favor. But in recent years, liberals and Democrats have acquired, if not new principles, then new constituencies.

Some lawyers are aspiring to create a class of litigator-billionaires, if they can just find a target big and juicy enough.

In the 1990s, liberals and Democrats began clamoring for a "patients' bill of rights" that would open the health-insurance industry to lawsuits. They lost the fight. That rare defeat made the litigation industry even hungrier for the money to be extracted from pharmaceutical companies—and has led the industry, and its allies in Congress, to demonize the companies that manufacture the life-saving miracles of the modern world.

While in private practice, Daniel Troy had become increasingly concerned about the medical harm done by these abusive lawsuits. For example, many smokers find it difficult or impossible to stop, even during pregnancy. Nicotine-replacement drugs could help protect the children of such women against the hazards of tobacco. Nicotine replacement is not risk-free, but it is much less risky than smoking. Yet fear of lawsuits has discouraged doctors from recommending nicotine replacement to pregnant women, thereby exposing many thousands of



"Finally the smoking gun that conclusively proves what many have long known: that Chomsky simply cannot be trusted. This book documents the reality that Chomsky chronically 'fabricates facts;' 'fakes figures;' 'misquotes authorities;' 'distorts data;' plays 'fast and loose with source material,' and engages in 'blatant professional mendacity.' After reading this book, no one will be able to rely on anything Chomsky says without independently checking every claim."
–Alan Dershowitz

Collier and Horowitz have put together a book that analyzes Chomsky's intellectual career and the evolution of his anti-Americanism. ("About time!" was the reaction of one early reader.) The essays in this provocative book focus on subjects such as Chomsky's bizarre involvement with Holocaust revisionism, his obsessive apologies for Khmer Rouge tyrant Pol Pot, and his claim that U.S. policies since WW II, are comparable to Nazism. Chomsky's linguistics is also subject to second thoughts by some of his leading colleagues. *The Anti-Chomsky Reader* is a fascinating composite portrait of a man whose anti-Americanism has made him a hero abroad and a cult figure at home.

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babies to preventable birth defects.

Another example: Depression is one of the most pervasive and debilitating of mental illnesses. Modern antidepressants like Prozac and Zoloft can save lives and careers. They don't work for everybody, though, and some depressives on those drugs have killed themselves. Indeed, the FDA itself warns that one side effect of antidepressants is that, by enhancing depressives' ability to function, they may slightly raise the risk of suicide in the very early weeks of treatment. Doctors who prescribe antidepressants should know to monitor their patients especially closely when starting them on the drugs.

But a strange coalition of holistic-medicine types and Naderite lawyers wants to argue that Prozac and Zoloft actually cause more misery than they cure. If these forces were ever to succeed, they would do more than merely enrich themselves. They could drive those antidepressants off the market altogether, causing enormous suffering to many millions of people now leading active, productive lives.

So as FDA chief counsel, Troy began to file "friend of the court" briefs in drug litigation. His argument went as follows: No drug or medical device can be prescribed in the United States until the FDA has decided that the drug or device is *both* safe *and* effective. FDA approval is not easily won. The testing necessary to convince the FDA can take up to a decade—and cost hundreds of millions of dollars. When approval is secured, the FDA then tells the manufacturer precisely how the drug or device may be used, and what the label for that drug or device must say.

To give you an idea of how tough this process can be, consider the humble aspirin. Aspirin has been curing headaches since the 1890s. In the past few decades, doctors began to notice that patients who took aspirin regularly seemed to suffer fewer heart attacks than other patients. Nonetheless, the FDA required *ten years* of testing before it permitted aspirin-makers to mention the heart benefits of their medicine in advertising and on product labels.

Troy's FDA briefs argued that enough should be enough. Once the supreme drug regulator's batteries of scientists agree that a drug or medical device does the job it is supposed to do—and decide what its label should and should not say—local lawyers should not be allowed to litigate and re-litigate the same issues in front of local juries made up of people who might or might not have completed high-school biology. Obvious, right?

If any one man symbolizes the kinds of abuses of science that Daniel Troy is combating, it is John Edwards.

The nation's courts sure think so, because Troy has been winning his cases. Just last month, his attorneys persuaded a federal court of appeals to throw out a lawsuit against an FDA-approved heart pump. Troy's victories provoked one of the trial bar's most loyal congressional minions, Rep. Maurice Hinchey (D., N.Y.), to call a press conference denouncing Troy, the FDA, and the Bush administration. In the 1980s teen classic film *Risky Business*, a worldly pimp takes a young Tom Cruise aside for a word of wisdom: "Never, *ever* f*** wid' another man's livelihood." Daniel Troy has been messing with the livelihoods—or, at any rate, the hoped-for livelihoods—of some of the nation's most unscrupulous legal entrepreneurs. And for that offense, he has been made a target of some of the Bush administration's most desperate enemies.

Now it's time to fight back.

The presence of John Edwards on the Democratic ticket makes this fight all the more newsworthy, relevant, and urgent. For if any one man symbolizes the kinds of abuses of science that Daniel Troy is combating, it is John Edwards. Between 1985 and 1995, the *New York Times* reports, Edwards filed at least 20 lawsuits against obstetricians and hospitals, accusing them of causing cerebral palsy in children by botching their deliveries. Edwards scored verdicts totaling more than $60 million, of which his firm typically took about one-third. Yet almost all experts on cerebral palsy—including those at the leading cerebral palsy charitable foundation—agreed at the time that the scientific theory on which Edwards built his winning record was total nonsense. Further research completed in 2003 locks up the case: Edwards's lawsuits were almost certainly groundless. This alleged advocate for the little guy in fact shifted tens of millions of dollars of medical resources into his own pocket from doctors and hospitals who almost certainly did not cause the medical tragedies he exploited.

And if those now gunning for Dan Troy prevail, the tens of millions Edwards pocketed will soon multiply into the tens of billions—tens of billions that will be factored into the prices of those drugs the lawyers don't manage to drive off the market. It was ironic in the extreme that Democratic nominee John Kerry would complain in his acceptance speech about rising pharmaceutical prices. Who does he think will ultimately pay for all those lawsuits his running-mate's donors intend to file if they succeed in pushing people like Daniel Troy out of the way?

The newspaper attacks on Troy are filled with quotations from people who describe themselves as "public interest" this and "public interest" that. But wouldn't most of us agree that the public interest wants to see safe and effective drugs brought to market quickly, and at the lowest possible price? What conceivable public interest could there be in padding the price of new drugs with plush payoffs to litigators peddling urban myths and fictitious fears?

At the Democratic convention in Boston, Ron Reagan summoned the delegates and the television audience to choose between "reason and ignorance," between "true compassion and mere ideology." If ever that choice were starkly posed, it is in the battle between this FDA and the profiteers of junk science. It's a battle to welcome—and to win. **NR**

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■ THE MEDIA

The One They Love

Or do they? The liberals' David Brooks problem.

ROSS DOUTHAT

DAVID BROOKS is every liberal's favorite conservative—or so every liberal says. He is the *New York Times*'s "loveable house conservative," according to *Slate*; "the in-house conservative pundit of Liberal America," says *Philadelphia* magazine; the "right's ambassador to the liberal establishment," writes Timothy Noah in the *Washington Post*; and the Left's "tame conservative, the right-winger without flecks of foam on the sides of his mouth," according to *The Nation*. CNN's Aaron Brown and Michael Kinsley (writing in the *New York Times Book Review*) have proffered similar phrases of fond condescension. But Nick Confessore recently topped them all, writing in *The Washington Monthly* that "to put things in Brooksian terms, he's a conservative, but the kind you'd bring home to discuss politics over $17-a-pound artisanal goat cheese and organic chardonnay bottled by third-generation French peasants."

Yet Brooks is also, according to his cluster of supposed admirers, "a snarky punchline artist . . . who translates echt nerd appearance (glasses, toothy grin, blue blazer) and intellectual bearing into journalistic credibility" (*Philadelphia*)—despite lacking "consistency and intellectual chops" (*Salon*). At his best, he's "overextended and underinspired" (Noah). At his worst, he's guilty of "embarrassing displays of intellectual obedience," behaving like an "overzealous junior press secretary ham-handedly spinning bad news," or "a second-rate talk-radio host playing tough guy" (Confessore). Oh, and he's a cheat and coward, because he "helped set the table for the wars on terror and Iraq but ducks from their consequences . . . " (*Slate*).

The official justification for this raft of attacks is the publication of *On Paradise Drive*, Brooks's latest foray into his favored terrain of gentle social satire. *On Paradise Drive* follows on the very successful heels of *Bobos in Paradise*, his 2000 dissection of upper-middle-class mores, and some of the recent anti-Brooksian fervor is readily explained by second-book backlash, the mix of envy and unreasonable expectations that drives critics to overpan sophomore efforts.

But only some of it. A few of Brooks's critics—namely Kinsley and Noah—have confined themselves to taking stilettos to *On Paradise Drive* itself (which is, admittedly, a deeply uneven effort). But the rest have used the book as a prop in a larger

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crede ut intellegas

From our Catalogue

The affinity between the life of the mind and the life of faith is embedded in Augustine's dictum, "crede ut intellegas", "believe in order that you may understand." For Augustine, truth consists in the intelligence's conforming itself to the divine sense of existence. Intelligence consists not, then, in the more or less brilliant performance of the mind, but in knowing reality as it is. To that end, faith and reason conjoined form a strong defense against the temptations of sophistry, triviality, ideology, fragmentation, skepticism, fideism, and anti-intellectualism. Faith, as the acknowledgment of the divine order of things, and reason, as the seeing of reality as it truly is, are partners in the Catholic intellectual tradition.

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assault on Brooks—on his ideas, his skill as a columnist, even his journalistic integrity. For these critics, Brooks isn't just guilty of producing a work that falls short of his previous standards. He's guilty of being a hack.

He's a hack because he can't cope intellectually with the Iraq war, claims *Slate*'s David Plotz, who argues that Brooks has blood on his hands and can't admit it, can't even muster the guts to travel to Iraq to see what his neocon follies "look like on the ground."

He's a hack because he lies and exaggerates, according to Sasha Issenberg of *Philadelphia*, who humorlessly fact-checks the breezy generalizations in Brooks's 2001 *Atlantic Monthly* cover story on Red and Blue America and concludes with absurd pomposity that Brooks "satisfies the features desk's appetite for scholarly authority in much the same way that Jayson Blair fed the newsroom's compulsion for scoops."

But it's Nick Confessore's *Washington Monthly* cover story that best captures the emerging liberal narrative about Brooks, which is that he's second-rate, yes, but only *some* of the time. "There is Brooks the Journalist," Confessore explains, "and there is Brooks the Hack." The former is the author of *Bobos in Paradise*, the "keen observer" liberals love to say they love. The latter can barely keep his inner troglodyte in check: He's a graduate of the "*Wall Street Journal*'s famously kooky and fact-challenged editorial page" who is "willing to carry water for his political allies" and "indulges in predictable—and frequently dishonest—caricatures of Democrats."

The absurdity of this line of argument should be self-evident. Brooks may have his hackish moments, but compared with much of his competition in the *Times*'s op-ed stable—not to mention the editorial page's shrill Upper West Side echo chamber—Brooks is the soul of decency, fairness, and journalistic excellence.

But to complain of unfairness in these critiques is to miss what's really going on here, namely, the appalled discovery by a host of liberal commentators that the conservative they adored when he was archly limning meritocratic manners is, well, a *conservative*.

This wasn't supposed to be such a shock. Brooks's appointment to the *Times* op-ed page was the latest (and longest-overdue) step in the conservative movement's march toward intellectual respectability, toward a recognition that right-wing thought can be more than a series of "irritable mental gestures," in Lionel Trilling's famous phrase.

But it turns out that such recognition, while real, only extends so far—to the idea of conservative ideas, you might say, and not to the ideas themselves. Oddly enough, it's Brooks-basher Laura Miller (reviewing *On Paradise Drive* in *Salon*) who nails what's happening here. "Although they won't admit it," she writes, "most liberals secretly believe that no one sensible and decent could ever seriously entertain conservative ideas, and therefore no one could ever fulfill the platonic role of Acceptable Conservative." So when a conservative as manifestly sensible and decent as Brooks comes along, his liberal fans are forced to take the Confessore approach, insisting that they love only his better half—the Jekyll and not the right-wing Hyde, the Journalist and not the Hack.

This madonna–whore split can't be sustained forever.

Sure, Confessore generously allows that Brooks's conservatism "leads him to smart ideas that a more liberal columnist probably wouldn't conceive." But neither he nor any of Brooks's other liberal critics can actually name one of those "smart ideas"—save for the largely apolitical insights of his comic anthropology. In their eyes, Brooks is a hack when he praises President Bush, a journalist when he talks about Iranian McMansions and Korean megachurches. He's a hack when he lauds a relatively conservative Democrat like Joe Lieberman, a journalist when he discusses Ubermoms and *Cigar Aficionado*. He's a hack when he's feeling optimistic about progress in Iraq, a journalist when he succumbs to the lure of despair.

But this madonna–whore split can't be sustained forever, and the liberal responses to *On Paradise Drive* suggest that their disappointment with the right-leaning *Times* columns of Brooks the Hack is spilling over to embrace the social criticism of Brooks the Journalist. The upper-middle-class typologies that so charmed liberal readers of *Bobos in Paradise* are suddenly being parsed for reactionary messages ("Why not just call her a screechy dyke and be done with it?" snaps Confessore about one of *On Paradise Drive*'s gentle caricatures), while the genial optimism about American life that has made Brooks a fixture on the NPR/PBS circuit is now thought to be aimed at glossing over the sufferings of the working class ("The people of the United States may need a decent system of public education or adequate healthcare, but one thing they do not need is another TV or radio program, another article or book telling them how terrific and contented they are," Nicholas von Hoffman snipes in *The Nation*).

Of all conservatives, Brooks should be immune to this kind of treatment—Brooks, who is pro-choice and pro-gay marriage, who is never wild-eyed and rarely dogmatic. The fact that he isn't immune suggests that conservatives of any stripe are still regarded by the journalistic elite as party-crashers at best—their wit and writing style perhaps appreciated, their political opinions not merely disagreed with but disdained.

This air of disrepute creates a dangerous temptation for a writer who, like Brooks, finds himself cast as the liberals' favorite. If you've become accustomed to praise from left-wing friends, it's easy to find yourself tailoring your ideas to fit their idealized image of what a smart conservative should be. The next thing you know, you find yourself "growing in office," as the press used to say approvingly of Republican lawmakers who eased their way leftward. (This is a fate, one hopes, Brooks is intellectually secure enough to resist.)

Yet the unending unrespectability of conservative ideas can also be a blessing in disguise. Just as the media's reflexive liberalism often cocoons Democratic politicians while they speed toward electoral ruin, so too does it swaddle liberal intellectuals with delusions of grandeur, until every Moore fancies himself an Eisenstein, every Dowd a Lippmann. Whereas the slings and arrows hurled at David Brooks suggest that conservatives need never fear the dangers of self-puffery—because no matter how high you rise or how brilliantly you write, there will always be a liberal pundit whispering in your ear, calling you a hack. **NR**

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■ COVER STORY

Lawyer of JIHAD

Meet Lynne Stewart, the radical attorney who happens to be on trial herself

RACHEL ZABARKES FRIEDMAN

REPORTS about Lynne Stewart will tell you how sweet and warm and cuddly she is. And it's true: She's sweet and warm and cuddly. Heavyset and endearingly disheveled, Stewart comes to court in a faded cotton housedress and likes to refer to people, even relative strangers, as "dear." You'd never think this charming, grandmotherly figure—someone who refuses to defend child-abusers because she believes children are true innocents—would be accused of helping Islamist terrorists. But appearances can be deceiving.

On February 26, 1993, Muslim terrorists set off a powerful bomb in the World Trade Center, killing six people and injuring a thousand. The man widely recognized as the terrorists' "spiritual leader," the Egyptian sheikh Omar Abdel Rahman, had previously claimed credit on behalf of his group for the murder of Egyptian president Anwar Sadat and was revered by Osama bin Laden. In July 1993 the "blind sheikh" was arrested on immigration charges. In January 1996 he was convicted and sentenced to life in prison for conspiring to wage a war of urban terror against the United States that included the World Trade Center attack and a foiled plan to simultaneously bomb the U.N. complex and the Lincoln and Holland Tunnels.

Lynne Stewart is the radical leftist lawyer who defended Rahman in 1995 and continued to serve as one of his attorneys thereafter. During the trial she argued the sheikh was not a terrorist but a venerable Islamic scholar who was not responsible for the actions of his followers and shouldn't be punished "for his outspoken ideas." Clearly, those responsible for deciding his case didn't buy it. As Andrew McCarthy, who led the prosecution, documented in the *Middle East Quarterly* after the trial, Rahman had long incited violence against those he considered "enemies of Islam," America foremost among them. "Every conspiracy against Islam," he once said, "its source is America." He had even issued a warning to this country just a month before the attack: "We must be terrorists and we must terrorize the enemies of Islam and frighten them and disturb them and shake the earth under their feet." His organization, Gama'a al-Islamiyya, or the Islamic Group, which he had led for over two decades before his imprisonment, was designated a foreign terrorist organization by the State Department in 1997.

The 64-year-old Stewart has now been indicted for helping relay messages between the imprisoned sheikh and members of the Islamic Group in violation of government-imposed security measures. The official charges against her are conspiring to defraud the United States, conspiring to provide and conceal material support to terrorist activity, actually providing and concealing that support, and making false statements (two counts). In just a couple of months, a New York jury will decide whether she's guilty; if convicted, she could spend over 30 years in prison. Regardless of the verdict, her story is a powerful illustration of how easily radical leftist dissatisfaction with America becomes cheerful support for America's enemies—even the most destructive of them—and how a so-called defender of the public becomes a defender of the public's enemies.

A GIRL FROM QUEENS

Stewart's defense is that she was just doing her job as an attorney—"nothing more than what any lawyer would ever do under any circumstances." But she also admits that her notion of good lawyering goes beyond the traditional lawyer's role. She is a self-described "political" or "movement" lawyer, in the mold of William Kunstler and Ron Kuby. Stewart proudly acknowledges that she goes the "extra yard" for her clients—which means being an activist, sometimes breaking the rules, making a client's cause her own.

To anyone unaware of the alliance between the radical Left and fundamentalist Islam, it may be hard to believe that a '60s radical would go out of her way to help an Islamist sheikh. Stewart, a

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Protestant girl from Queens, turned political in the 1960s while working as a public-school librarian in Harlem. There she met her second and current husband, Ralph Poynter, a black militant and then schoolteacher who would later lose his job and serve six months on Rikers Island for assaulting a police officer. Stewart went to law school angry at America for its racial and economic injustices, and after graduating started a criminal practice defending underground groups such as the Ohio Seven and the Black Liberation Army. As those movements dwindled, she moved on to defending individual cop killers and drug dealers, all of whom, according to her worldview, had been in some way betrayed by "the system."

Having spent her life defending homegrown miscreants, Stewart didn't know much about the Egyptian sheikh in 1994. But famed radical Ramsey Clark persuaded her to take his case. As George Packer told it in the *New York Times Magazine*, Clark said that the Arab world would feel betrayed by the American Left if Stewart didn't step up. And for her, Rahman is a natural fit. Like many of her previous clients, he is a public enemy and a revolutionary: anti-liberal, anti-bourgeois, and most of all anti-American. Stewart has always seen violence as the unavoidable result of the struggle of the oppressed against their oppressors, and though she might not say it explicitly these days, "Amerika" is Oppressor No. 1.

"I felt that [the sheikh] could be a tremendous political influence for change in Egypt," Stewart told me. And she said to the *Washington Post*, "My own political sense tells me the only hope for change in Egypt is the fundamentalist movement."

In May of 2000, Stewart agreed to abide by special administrative measures imposed by the government in 1997 on Rahman. These measures prohibited her from communicating the sheikh's messages to third parties, including the media. They allowed her to be accompanied by translators when speaking to him but limited their conversations to legal matters. Justice Department spokesman Mark Corallo explains that such measures are "extremely rare," imposed only when a prisoner is deemed a significant danger even from inside prison walls.

And there was apparently good reason to consider the sheikh such a danger. After his arrest, according to the government's indictment of Stewart, Rahman called on his followers to wage jihad in order to secure his release: "It is a duty upon all Muslims around the world to come to free the sheikh, and to rescue him from his jail." Sure enough, his followers soon began pledging to do just that. A January 1996 statement by the Islamic Group said, "All American interests will be legitimate targets for our struggle until the release of Sheikh Omar Abdel Rahman and his brothers," and similar statements followed in 1997.

On November 17, 1997, six terrorists shot and stabbed a group of tourists at an archaeological site in Luxor, Egypt, killing 58 foreigners and four Egyptians. The killers scattered Islamic Group leaflets calling for the release of the sheikh, and even inserted one into the slit torso of one of their victims. A few years later, in March 2000, members of the Abu Sayyaf terrorist group kidnapped almost 30 people in the Philippines and threatened to behead them if the sheikh and two other convicted terrorists were not released. Authorities later found two beheaded bodies and were unable to account for four of the hostages.

In September 2000, Osama bin Laden, Ayman al-Zawahiri (bin Laden's deputy in al-Qaeda), and an Islamic Group leader known as Abu Yasir went on al-Jazeera to declare their support for the sheikh and pledge to free him.

One would think Stewart would know better than to believe that the sheikh bears no responsibility for the terrorism carried out in his name. But if she does, it doesn't stop her from defending her decision in June 2000—just a few weeks after agreeing to the special administrative measures—to release to Reuters a statement from the sheikh calling on his group to reevaluate the cease-fire agreement they had made with Egyptian authorities a few years earlier. The statement came on the heels of a two-day prison visit in which—according to the government's indictment, based on wiretap recordings of the conversations—alleged co-conspirator and translator Mohammed Yousry read to the sheikh a statement and letter from Islamic Group members while Stewart attempted to fool prison guards into believing Yousry was merely translating her words. The sheikh also dictated letters to Yousry indicating that he no longer supported the cease-fire. Shortly thereafter, a third defendant, Ahmed Abdel Sattar, related in telephone conversations to Islamic Group leaders the news that the sheikh did not oppose a return to terrorist operations ("work").

Around the same time, Stewart submitted to the U.S. attorney's office an affirmation that she had agreed to abide by the government's special administrative measures.

Stewart has little choice now but to acknowledge she did what the government alleges: "We're not saying, 'No, I was in Cleveland that day.'" She claims she issued the press release to publicize her client's case, and because the security measures violated his First Amendment rights. Moreover, she insists, the Islamic Group was no longer in the terrorism business: "It was clear that this group that has perhaps been dubbed a terrorist group had not done anything violent since 1997 and indeed it had turned to a peaceful course, which was endorsed by my client" (press release notwithstanding!). As for distracting the prison guards, she says, "I don't think there are many criminal-defense lawyers who visit in a prison who don't do the best they can to keep their conversations private and away from the ears of the guards."

ROMAN GENN

Lynne Stewart

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Yet as Prosecutor McCarthy confirms, there was little Stewart could do, legally. Her client had been convicted, and that conviction upheld on appeal, and it was too late to file a writ of habeas corpus. His case was essentially a political one—for instance, Stewart was pushing a prisoner swap with Egypt. As for the administrative measures, she could have contested them in court. Instead she broke the law, and her word, to advance the opinion that convicted terrorists are entitled to communicate with their followers.

POSTER GIRL?

This may be why Stewart's cause isn't exactly popular among lawyers right now. Ron Kuby, one of the relative few who defend Stewart, does so because he thinks the statement she released from the sheikh was merely his "opinion about matters in his country" and not a directive: It was made openly in the press and didn't call for specific acts of violence. Kuby believes that if Stewart is convicted, "it'll show that when your view of your client and the government's view of your client collide, the government's view prevails." He laments that she "hasn't gotten the kind of support from lawyers I would expect. This is a time when many civil libertarians are running for cover."

More likely, lawyers recognize that Stewart abused her power as an attorney. Harvard's Alan Dershowitz says he thinks Stewart is "a disgrace to the legal profession." She "hides behind the Sixth Amendment, but what she cares about is radicalism. She hides behind her law degree and her bar admission to do the work of a lawless radical." Nevertheless, Dershowitz finds himself in the position of rooting for Stewart, because he worries the court's decision could be so broad as to prevent other lawyers from taking on clients accused of terrorism.

Defense lawyer Jarett Decker, writing in the June issue of *Reason*, is of similar mind. He criticizes the Justice Department for "pursuing a course that threatens the Sixth Amendment" and says the department's "history suggests that charges may be used, or threatened, against lawyers who represent the government's prime targets too often or too well."

But according to McCarthy, that concern doesn't remotely apply to Stewart's case. "Lynne was not in any way acting as the counsel contemplated by the Sixth Amendment," which protects the accused, not the convicted, he says. Moreover, he points out that in the eleven years since 1993, when the first World Trade Center bombing inaugurated a new wave of terrorism, not a single lawyer has been prosecuted for acts related to the defense of a terrorist client who has not yet been convicted and is preparing for trial. "If Lynne is their best shot at saying the government is impinging on the Sixth Amendment," McCarthy says, "I think everyone can calm down."

Still, Stewart's case may be a useful lesson in the ongoing struggle to balance liberty and security. It is a lesson in the need to preserve our liberty, but not in the way civil libertarians suggest—that is, not by merely asserting our freedoms against the government, but by making sure government has the means to protect those freedoms. Stewart has for years used the legal system to advance, in one way or another, her fundamentally lawless agenda. Perhaps when that meant defending individual Communists and cop killers the stakes were lower, and the damage to be done less severe. But now that Stewart or someone in her shoes has the power to help entire enemy networks by taking advantage of the very freedoms that make this country great, increased vigilance is prudent, and ultimately just.

Of course, Stewart and her ardent supporters—not to mention the far Left generally—have made an art of alleging that government measures to protect us from terrorists and terrorist supporters are unnecessary, unconstitutional, evil, or all of the above. Attorney general John Ashcroft and the Patriot Act have restricted freedom of speech, destroyed the attorney-client privilege, and made lawyering a crime. But wait, none of these criticisms applies to Stewart's case: The special administrative measures were imposed on the sheikh in 1997; her conversations with him were recorded under the 1978 Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act, not the Patriot Act; and the anti-terror statute under which she is being tried dates from the Clinton era.

The country Stewart hates so much has been remarkably good to her.

And wait again: Hasn't Stewart said she *favors* repression when Communist (and perhaps now Islamist) regimes are the ones doing it? "I don't have any problem with Mao or Stalin or the Vietnamese leaders or certainly Fidel locking up people they see as dangerous," she has said. In other words—as David Horowitz points out in his forthcoming book about the "unholy alliance" between the American Left and radical Islam—it's okay for states Stewart likes to squash the freedom of their citizens, but criminalizing acts that help terrorists undermine and attack America is not.

Meanwhile, the country she hates so much has been remarkably good to her. Stewart has carried on relatively undisturbed for years, and now that she's taken her political lawyering too far she has hardly been treated cruelly. In fact, the judge in this trial threw out an earlier indictment on the grounds that the statute was too vague, and now the government is forced to prove that she *knowingly* aided terrorist violence, not just that she provided material support to a terrorist group. And there's more: All of Stewart's legal fees are being paid for by the government, at taxpayer expense. Doesn't she have it pretty good? Don't we all?

In a 2003 speech before the notorious National Lawyers Guild, Stewart exhorted her followers to defend her so that she could continue defending "the people" against our "poisonous government." She paid homage to those "modern heroes" such as "Ho and Mao and Lenin, Fidel and Nelson Mandela and John Brown, Che Guevara, who reminds us, 'At the risk of seeming ridiculous, let me say that the true revolutionary is guided by a great feeling of love.'" Make that hate—hatred of America, in Lynne Stewart's case. Fortunately, in this country of laws, her revolution is unlikely to come to pass. **NR**

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■ THE NATION II

Buffetted

The Sage of Omaha loves the estate tax—as well he might

JOHN BERLAU

"THE Bush Money Machine: An Industry Gets Its Way," screamed a headline on the top front-page story of the May 17 *Washington Post*. The article quoted a major Bush campaign contributor saying that he supports the GOP because of its belief in "less government, more individual freedom, more individual responsibility." But, in a typical *Post* "gotcha," the story (by James V. Grimaldi and Thomas B. Edsall) detailed another possible motive for the gentleman's contributions: The Bush administration had reversed one of the Clinton administration's "midnight" environmental regulations that would have affected his business. This, the piece declared, was an example of one of "the subtle intricacies between corporations and an administration determined to roll back what it considers to be regulatory overkill." The article went on to document the Bush administration's adoption of policies "benefiting sectors of the business community . . . that happen to be a source of major fundraisers and donors." "Securities and investment banking firms," for instance, "have benefited enormously" from tax changes pushed through by President Bush.

It's perfectly fair, of course, to ask who benefits from a candidate's policies; but the coverage by the *Post* and other mainstream media outlets has not been evenhanded. In the past few months, quite a few of the super-rich have backed John Kerry and attacked Bush's policies; among them are currency speculator George Soros, insurance magnate Peter Lewis, and Warren Buffett, the CEO and largest shareholder in Berkshire Hathaway, a holding company that owns, among other things, more than 20 percent of outstanding shares of the Washington Post Co. Yet the parallel question is never asked: Would these tycoons benefit from the more interventionist government policies advocated by Kerry and the Democrats?

RAIDING THE ESTATES

A look at Buffett's holdings shows that in at least one case, that of the estate tax, the answer is a strong yes. Since Bush started pushing for repeal of the estate tax, Buffett—the second richest man in the world, just behind Bill Gates—has emerged as one of this tax's most prominent supporters. Repealing the tax undermines meritocracy, the billionaire argues to a fawning press. It's like "choosing the 2020 Olympic team by picking the eldest sons of the gold-medal winners in the 2000 Olympics," he told the *New York Times*. The *Post* gave him space for a whole column blasting Bush's tax cuts as "class welfare. For my class." Buffett is now on Kerry's economic team. Kerry, in explaining his plans to reverse Bush's phaseout of the estate tax, cites the supposedly noble sacrifice of Buffett. "If Warren Buffett can tell America that he just got a bonanza . . . and he thinks it's more important to give $1,000 to every family, I think that's pretty good thinking," Kerry told PBS's *NewsHour*. At least two of this year's crop of anti-Bush books, Kevin Phillips's *American Dynasty* and Peter Singer's *The President of Good and Evil*, laud Buffett for his selflessness in opposing the estate-tax rollback. Liberal pundit Mark Shields has referred to Buffett as the rare "good CEO" who spoke out against the Bush tax cuts.

But Buffett's efforts look considerably less noble to those who have dug into his business holdings and methods: Buffett reaps a windfall because of the destructive impact the estate tax has on family businesses. Through Berkshire Hathaway, Buffett acquires profitable family businesses that are sold to him in large part because the businesses cannot meet the estate-tax burden, while at the same time selling estate-tax-insurance products to help other families hang on to their businesses. (Berkshire Hathaway's corporate headquarters in Omaha did not return phone calls asking for comment.)

Buffett is known for his philosophy of "value investing": buying stocks or businesses at prices below their intrinsic value and patiently waiting to reap returns. In short, he hunts for bargains. And one thing the estate tax does, say experts, is create bargains of well-run family businesses that are sold to avoid estate-tax problems. This is because the tax hits all assets—so if a family has most of its net worth in a business, it must quickly sell that business to satisfy the tax. And these businesses—many of which are the very "Main Street" businesses the Left invokes when inveighing against chains such as Starbucks and Wal-Mart—are often sold substantially below their market value. "If a family is forced to sell as a result of the death of the founder, so that you've got a 50 percent estate tax due nine months after death, that naturally depresses the price," notes Harold Apolinsky, an estate-planning attorney at the Birmingham, Ala., law firm of Sirote & Permutt. "When you're forced to sell to fund the tax, there's more of an opportunity for the buyer to negotiate a lower price."

In Buffett's career, this opportunity has come many times. Take his acquisition of the *Buffalo Evening News* (now the *Buffalo News*) in the 1970s. His biggest acquisition up to that time, the newspaper became very profitable, and a stepping stone on Buffett's journey from multimillionaire investor to multibillionaire titan of industry. But—according to a just-published history of the *Buffalo News*—the paper would likely never have gone up for sale had it not been for the estate tax. In *From Butler to Buffett: The Story Behind the Buffalo News*, a book that features a foreword by Buffett, the paper's former managing editor, Murray Light, writes that the previous owner "had repeatedly rejected the advice of her attorneys that she take steps to minimize the tax consequences that would occur upon her death." Kate Butler was the widow of the founder's son; the paper had been in the family since 1873. According to Light, Butler had repeatedly been warned by her lawyers that if she failed to get rid of some of her assets before she died, "a 'fire sale' of the paper would result to satisfy the estate

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taxes." But Butler "stubbornly refused this advice and when she died in August 1974, the family agreed with the estate that the *News* should be put up for sale."

Buffett, referred to the impending sale by his friend, the late *Washington Post* owner Katherine Graham, didn't exactly pay a "fire sale" price for the paper; he plunked down $32.5 million. But, as Buffett biographer and *Wall Street Journal* writer Roger Lowenstein has noted, by the late 1980s the *News* would be earning more than $40 million *each year*. In an interview, former editor Light notes that the paper likely would have been kept in the family for at least another generation had it not been for the estate tax.

Fast-forward to the 1990s: Buffett has his eye on the fast-food chain Dairy Queen. He goes to the board of International Dairy Queen Inc., makes an offer and is rebuffed. Then a strange sort of luck comes Buffett's way: In 1997, Rudy Luther, a Minnesota auto dealer who owns 15 percent of the company stock, dies. His children need to sell the stock to pay off estate taxes, Luther's son tells the Minneapolis *Star Tribune*. Fearful that the sale of such a high volume of shares could massively drive down the stock price, the Dairy Queen board approaches Buffett to buy the Luther family's shares. All or nothing, Buffett says, according to the *Star Tribune*'s account. So the board foregoes a bidding process and agrees to Buffett's price. The deal is eventually approved by a majority of shareholders, though not without at least one lawsuit and several protests from shareholders and fund managers who feel the shares are worth more.

Buffett's efforts look considerably less noble to those who have dug into his business holdings and methods.

In the past few years, Buffett has kept on buying up family businesses. Among them are R. C. Willey Home Furnishings and Ben Bridge Jeweler; with both businesses, the family's desire to avoid the looming estate tax played a big part in the decision to sell. In his 1995 letter to shareholders, Buffett noted that the owner of R. C. Willey, a Utah business with eleven retail stores, approached one of Buffett's managers about selling "for estate tax and diversification reasons." Buffett continued: "We quickly agreed on a number, and found our chemistry to be perfect." The Seattle-based Ben Bridge Jeweler, then consisting of 63 stores in western states, also found just the right "chemistry" with Buffett in 2000, after Ed Bridge—grandson of Ben—was diagnosed with a sudden illness. Ed Bridge was in his early 40s, not the typical decade where extensive planning is done in preparation for the estate tax; but, according to the *Seattle Times*, he feared that his death would force the family to sell the business, and that a new owner would restructure the firm and leave many longtime employees out of work.

In Seattle, the Bridges have long been known for their charitable giving and civic leadership; their virtues, and those of other owners of family businesses, are ones that Buffett skillfully works to his advantage in negotiations. "I think that we probably could have received 20% more from [another buyer] than we got from Berkshire," Ed Bridge told *Fortune* in 2001. "But I also think we would have destroyed the business if we had gone that way." Fully recovered, Ed is now running the business with his cousin Jon Bridge as a subsidiary of Berkshire Hathaway. Buffett lets the previous owners of Ben Bridge Jeweler and the other businesses he has acquired stay on as managers and run their businesses semi-independently, although he does insist that they send excess cash to Berkshire Hathaway. Given the dire potential effects of the estate taxes, many of the business owners, like the Bridges, are grateful to Buffett. "When Warren Buffett bought it, it eliminated a problem for us," Ed Bridge's 79-year-old uncle, Herb Bridge, says in an interview.

At the time of the sale, Herb Bridge was angry that the government was forcing his family into this situation by levying this double tax on a lifetime of work. "I think it's immoral for a government to demand that amount of money from a family-owned

FIVE OF THE MOST IMPORTANT PEOPLE OF OUR TIME

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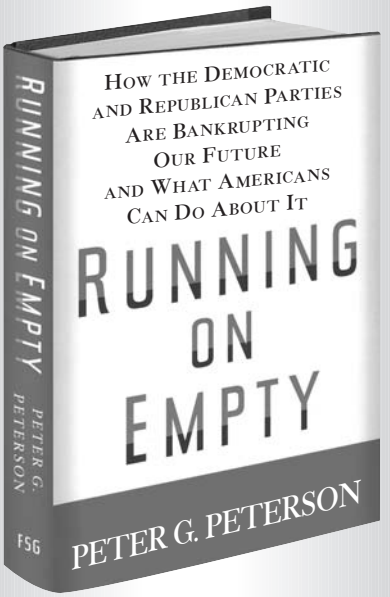
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business," he told the *Seattle Times* in 2001. But now Bridge says that after being personally lobbied by prominent Seattle resident Bill Gates Sr., an ally of Buffett's in the fight against Bush's repeal, he has changed his mind. "As time went on I realized I didn't mind paying the estate tax," he says. He goes on to embrace the mantra of estate-tax supporters about how the tax promotes meritocracy and prevents "imperial families."

Whatever the merit of the arguments for and against the tax, the indisputable fact is that Buffett will have to pay more, in many instances, for the businesses he buys if Bush is reelected and succeeds in his goal of repealing the estate tax. Even Andrew Kilpatrick, who has written admiring books about Buffett's career, says that because of the tax, "Berkshire's getting the benefit that maybe the whole deal went down a bit cheaper."

ANOTHER WINDFALL

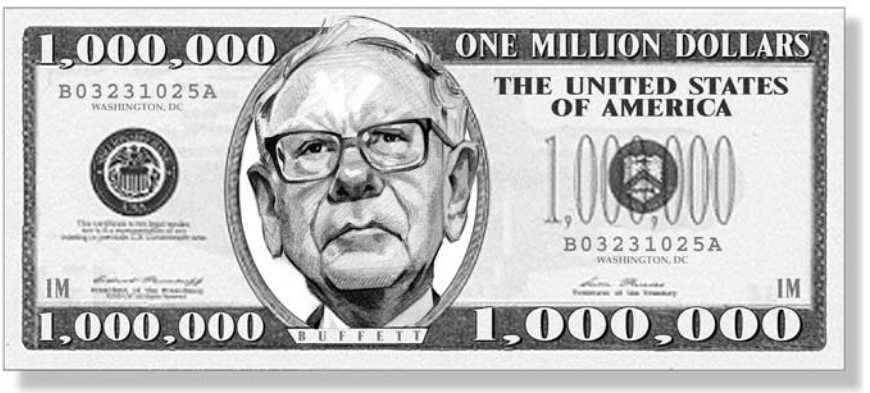
Is Buffett supporting the estate tax out of self-interest? The *Buffalo News*'s Light, who mostly praises Buffett's tenure as owner of the paper and considers himself a friend, says with a chuckle: "One thing you have to know is that Warren Buffett is not a dumb man. He knows where he's going, and he knows how to get there. He's honest, he's candid, he loves newspapers, but he's certainly not going to do things that are not beneficial to him and to Berkshire Hathaway."

And buying businesses is not the only way this smart man is planning to make money off the estate tax. Buffett is expanding his life-insurance holdings: An investor group led by Berkshire Hathaway has bought the life-insurance and investments division of the Seattle-based insurance firm Safeco. On Safeco's website, the company advertises "business life" policies, which it describes as "special life insurance programs that can help you continue your business after the death of a key employee or help your heirs pay estate taxes without selling your property."

Policies like Safeco's—to help families cope with the estate tax—are a growing part of the life-insurance business, into which Buffett has made forays in recent years. Life-insurance policies help families hold on to their assets by providing liquidity to pay the tax and by sheltering some items from taxation. But this protection doesn't come cheap. Business owners have to pay over a number of years what they think the estate will eventually be worth, plus hefty fees to the insurance companies. And since it's hard to estimate what a business will be worth at the time of an owner's death, policyholders frequently must pay far more over the years to the insurance company than what their heirs will owe in taxes, according to Dena Battle, legislative-affairs manager for the National Federation of Independent Business.

If the estate tax were repealed permanently under the schedule President Bush has set—when he signed the phaseout into law in 2001—there would be no need for these insurance policies. The money spent on these and other forms of estate planning could be used to create jobs, expand businesses, and, according to some economists, produce more total tax revenue for the government. But this would cause the restructuring of what conservative seniors' activist Jim Martin calls "a cottage industry that has become a big business"; and, like Buffett, many members of that industry aren't taking the death of the death tax lying down.

When Bush came into office, life insurers formed the Americans for Sensible Estate Tax Solutions (ASSETS) coalition to fight his phaseout plan, and there is plenty of evidence the industry is still lobbying to derail the repeal behind the scenes. Syndicated columnist Robert Novak recently reported that Frank Keating—formerly Republican governor of Oklahoma, now head of the American Council of Life Insurers—supports keeping the estate tax, making Buffett-like arguments about not having "a class system in this country."



Buffett has taken other policy positions that coincide with his financial interests. He has crusaded for more regulation of derivatives, which he has called "financial weapons of mass destruction." Derivative dealers frequently compete with providers of traditional commercial insurance—including companies owned by Berkshire. And Buffett's sudden concern about the trade deficit and advocacy of protectionism comes at a time when Berkshire is entering the textile industry, with acquisitions such as Fruit of the Loom, Ltd., that would be hurt by foreign competition.

None of this is to say that Buffett doesn't seriously believe in the positions he is advocating—just as the Bush supporter quoted in the *Washington Post* article was probably expressing a sincere belief when he said that he backs "less government" and "more individual freedom." But the *Post* didn't take his word for it, and showed instead how he benefited from a particular EPA policy change. The interests of *Post* shareholder Buffett and the other so-called progressive billionaires deserve the same scrutiny. To borrow the *Post*'s phrasing, the media need to explore the "subtle intricacies" of the relationships between politicians who support big-government policies and the businessmen who benefit from them. **NR**

DARREN GYGI

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the long view

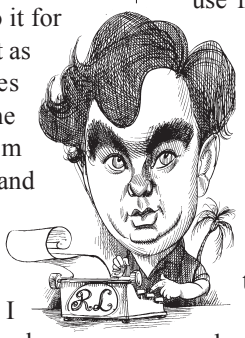
ROB LONG

The Candidates' Diaries

The Ladies Edition™ (Part One)

From "My Campaign Diary," as dictated by Teresa Heinz Kerry:

. . . which was absolutely nuts and I told him so, really, just flat-out said that there's no way, *no way*, I'm going to pay fifty dollars for a paraffin hand dip when I have Estrella back at home—the one in Washington—who will do it for free. Well, not for free, but as part of her regular duties around the house—the one in Washington—while I'm on the phone or whatever and she's ironing the sheets or whatever she does to them that makes them smooth and smelling like I like them to. And he looked at me and said, "Ma'am, at salons in Ohio, a paraffin hand dip is fifty dollars," and I was about to say, "Well, you can take your Ohio and you can shove it up your . . . " but just then John appeared alongside me—I think he had gone into the pastry shop next door to shake hands with some of the people who mill about these kinds of places, and to buy one of those roundish fried pastries that fat people eat so many of, what are those? The round things? Estrella would know. She's fat. Why is it that so many people are fat? Anyway, he appeared with some kind of cardboard valise containing, I suppose, those round pastries, and guided me out of the salon before I really had a chance to get into it with the man who wanted *fifty dollars* for a hand dip, which was really outrageous. If people know you have money they just think they can get away with the most *insane* behavior . . .



. . . and I'm not even sure if this damn thing is on, because I see the red light and I'm holding the microphone but it's impossible to tell if . . . no, wait . . . no, it's working . . . the tape thingy is spinning around but really these things are baffling and they should just invent something that goes right from your head into the machine without all of this nonsense. I have a tiny thing that I use for memos and such back at the house—the one in Sun Valley—but I dropped it or lost it or something which is too bad because there's just so much to remember about this experience of campaigning for the whachamacallit and this contraption isn't ideal because, for one thing, the microphone has an odd smell, though I can't tell if it's the microphone or my own upper lip, because I seem to be unable to avoid eating all sorts of melted cheesy things in front of the camera, I guess to prove to people that I'm a real person, whatever that means. Good Lord! I certainly feel real. I'm shaking a million grubby hands a day! How real is that? And I'll tell you something else. I'm getting *awfully* cross with all of John's "people" telling me to simmer down and keep my thoughts to myself. We visited a FedEx warehouse or something yesterday, and the workers there had the most stylish uniforms, really just sensational outfits—all bright-color stripes on a field of basic black (which is slimming *and* you don't have to wash it that often—have you priced dry cleaning lately? *Out. Rageous.*) and I was telling one of the ladies who work there how terrific I thought the outfit was and suddenly there's this aide or operative or whatever of John's—and he looked about twelve, if you ask me—steering me away and telling me not to compliment people on their uniforms. And so I asked him, "Well then, what *should* I compliment her on? The woman's skin is a mess and she's carrying about sixty extra pounds and furthermore, I *like* the uniforms and I'm thinking of maybe getting some for my staff back home—the one in Pittsburgh." And he looked at me like I was a crazy lady and I really will *not* put up with much more of this . . .

. . . and I said "of *course* you should have an abortion, you *owe it* to yourself," and the poor girl just looked at me surrounded by all of these Secret Service people with those *ridiculous* little ear thingies and once again I was hustled away but not before I shook hands with a *wonderful* girl in one of those headdresses and Muslim-looking muumuu-type deals, and I said to her, "Sister, help is on the way. John is going to make friends with all of you people," and I told her about Estrella, who is a Muslim too, I think. She's from Indonesia, so I'm guessing she is. Aren't most of them over there? Anyway, I was hustled back on the bus and got yet *another* lecture from Mr. Twelve Year Old, and so do you know what I did? I *fired* him. I told him, "You're fired!" and that was that. Although I can see up there in the front of the bus that he's talking and gesturing to John who's nodding and shrugging silently so I guess *this* is going to be a six-act play . . .

. . . still smells odd to me, and this time I know it's not my upper lip it's the microphone itself, so what I did was to spray it all over with Hermes *Eau d'Orange Verte* scent, just soaked the thing in it and I . . . really think it's working . . . better . . . f . . . ch . . . story . . . be . . . . . house . . the one . . . Nantuck . . .

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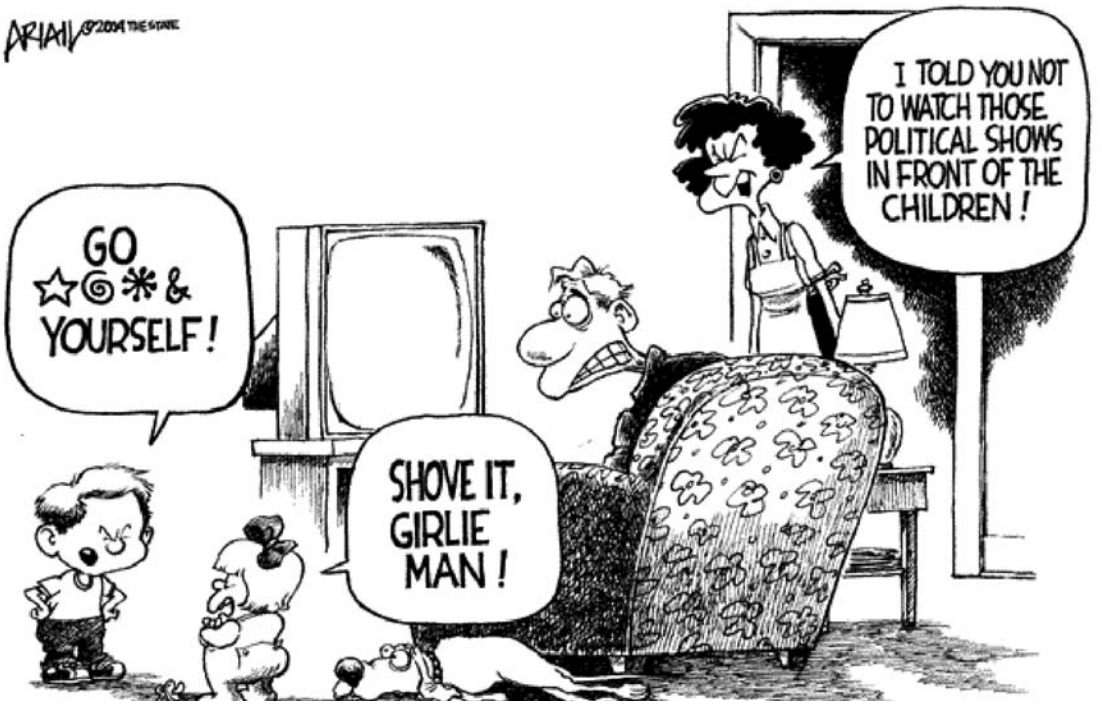
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GO ☆©*& YOURSELF!
SHOVE IT, GIRLIE MAN!
I TOLD YOU NOT TO WATCH THOSE POLITICAL SHOWS IN FRONT OF THE CHILDREN!

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Two Socialists

Bush's tax cuts, in a twinkling,
Will come crashing down
If this terminating twosome
Goose-steps into town.
What these two ham-handed fiscal
Twits don't recognize
Are the tax increases that will,
Ipso facto, rise.

—W. H. von Dreele

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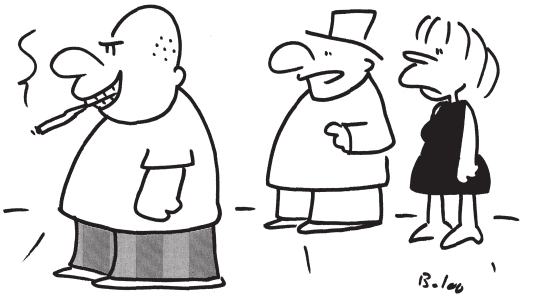

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- Where does one *begin* to question **Bernard Lewis** about the brutal revival of the millenium-old struggle between Islam and the West?!
- Ditto for **Victor Davis Hanson**, who will share his expertise on the moral struggle required for America and democratic nations to battle terrorism and defend freedom, as will **John Hillen,** the *NR* contributing editor who's in the know about all matters military.
- Who are *better* positioned to discuss the state of the Republican Party than chairman **Ed Gillespie** (who wrote for *NR* once upon a time before running the GOP), and true-believing conservative Congressman **Pat Toomey** (a rising political star)?!
- Who can give keener insight on the war between conservatives and RINOs (Republicans In Name Only) than Club for Growth boss **Stephen Moore**? Or a sounder assessment of red-hot cultural issues (immigration, campus "diversity," etc.) than the brilliant **Michelle Malkin** and **Dinesh D'Souza** (we'll also look for his take on the legacy of Ronald Reagan)?!
- And they'll be joined in all the elucidating and analyzing of the 2004 elections and their aftermath by *NR*'s editorial heavyweights: **Rich Lowry**, **John O'Sullivan**, **Ramesh Ponnuru**, **Jay Nordlinger**, and NRO headliner **John Derbyshire**.

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SUN/Nov. 14	Half Moon Cay	8:00 AM	4:00 PM	morning Catholic Mass evening cocktail reception
MON/Nov. 15	AT SEA			morning/afternoon seminars late-night smoker
TUES/Nov. 16	St. Thomas, USVI	8:00 AM	12 Midnight	
WED/Nov. 17	Tortola, BVI	7:00 AM	6:00 PM	evening cocktail reception
THURS/Nov. 18	AT SEA			morning/afternoon seminars late-night smoker
FRI/Nov. 19	Nassau, Bahamas	12 Noon	7:00PM	morning seminar evening cocktail reception
SAT/Nov. 20	Ft. Lauderdale	8:00AM		

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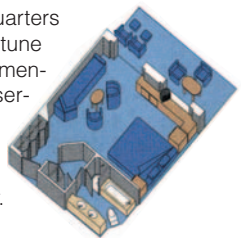

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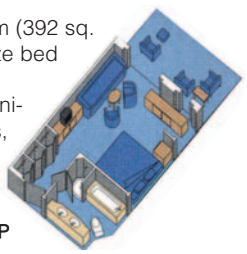

SUPERIOR SUITES Grand stateroom (392 sq. ft.) features private verandah, queen-size bed (convertible to 2 twin beds), whirlpool bath/shower, large sitting area, DVD, mini-bar, refrigerator, floor-to-ceiling windows, and much more.

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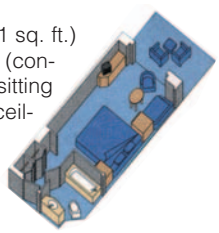

DELUXE OUTSIDE Spacious cabin (241 sq. ft.) features private verandah, queen-size bed (convertible to 2 twin beds), bath with shower, sitting area, mini-bar, tv, refrigerator, and floor-to-ceiling windows.

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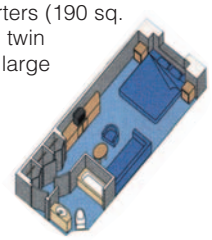

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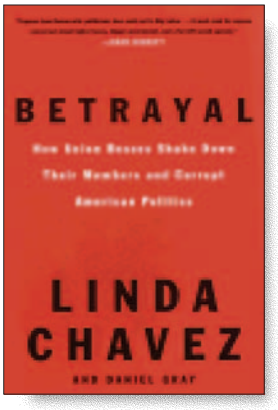
Gunning for Goliath



Betrayal: How Union Bosses Shake Down Their Members and Corrupt American Politics, by Linda Chavez and Daniel Gray (Crown Forum, 288 pp., $25.95)

PETER FLAHERTY

THIS book, like Linda Chavez's fine 2002 memoir *An Unlikely Conservative*, constitutes a silver lining. If Chavez had been confirmed as labor secretary in 2001, we would not be blessed with its publication now. (She, of course, withdrew from consideration after being savaged by the liberals and the media.) Along with co-author Daniel Gray, she brings together a comprehensive bill of particulars against Big Labor in a year when the union bosses plan to play an unprecedented role in the elections.

Chavez details how union political power expands even as union membership shrinks. Last year alone, private-sector unions lost 369,000 members. In 1950, more than one-third of the private-sector workforce belonged to unions; by last year, the figure was down to 8.2 percent. Despite this decline—or, more accurately, because of it—politics has become almost the sole focus of organized labor in recent years, at least since 1995, when John Sweeney became president of the AFL-CIO. Political influence guarantees protection for union prerogatives. Chavez identifies the unions' most important prerogative: the power to tax, a power enjoyed by no other private organizations.

Unions receive more than $17 billion a year, all of it tax-free. They spend more on politics than do both political parties combined. The planned union role in the 2004 elections is so staggering that a single New York City local of the Service Employees International Union (SEIU) has announced plans to spend $35 to $40 million to defeat President Bush. It intends to field 1,000 "volunteers" to work for the Democrats in battleground states, with the union local paying salary and expenses. Whether this ambitious plan comes fully to fruition or not, it shows what the bosses perceive their jobs to be.

The injustice is that union members are forced to subsidize political candidates that they may not support: Historically, about 40 percent of union members vote Republican. Union dues-payers are also forced to subsidize exorbitant salaries, high living, embezzlement, theft, and various mob dealings.

Avowed socialist John Sweeney used to be president of the SEIU; before that, he was president of a New York SEIU local. He received a salary from the local for 13 years after he left the job, in addition to his salary from the international union. His handpicked successor at the local, Gus Bevona, was also a double-dipper: He became the highest paid union official in the country, raking in $500,000 annually. Bevona also had a union-sponsored Manhattan penthouse worth $6 million and was accused of misusing $2.4 million in union funds before being forced out.

Some of the more egregious recent instances of union corruption have received extensive local news coverage. *Betrayal* chronicles them in one chapter. The characters are colorful but, unfortunately, this is not fiction. Barbara Bullock was president of the Washington Teachers' Union, an affiliate of the American Federation of Teachers (AFT). She and a handful of associates looted $4.6 million from the union's treasury. When police raided her home, they found luxury goods worth $2 million, including a 288-piece set of Tiffany silverware; a $57,000 silver tea set; purses by Fendi, Gucci, and Louis Vuitton; scores of shoes by Bruno Magli and Salvatore Ferragamo; mink coats; and a $13,000 plasma television.

In Miami, the president of United Teachers of Dade (UTD), another AFT affiliate, also lived well. Pat Tornillo augmented his $243,000 salary and $43,000 expense account with unauthorized reimbursements for jewelry, custom-made suits, spa visits, and travel to Switzerland, Australia, New Zealand, India, and Thailand. The now 78-year-old Tornillo even apparently used union funds to spice up his love life with the purchase of python-print pajamas and sex-instruction videotapes.

Although Bullock and Tornillo were eventually caught and sentenced to prison, their political prominence on the local level and relationships with Democratic politicians allowed them, for a while, to operate with impunity. The book details how Bullock's assistant and partner in crime, a woman named Gwendolyn Hemphill, was simultaneously executive director of the Democratic party in Washington, D.C., and, in 2002, co-chairman of Democratic mayor Anthony Williams's reelection campaign. As for Tornillo, he wielded such political clout in Florida that the local press credited him with essentially picking the Democratic nominee against Gov. Jeb Bush in 2002, and arranging the AFL-CIO endorsement.

Other, more powerful union bosses have been successful in using political influence to escape scrutiny and to maintain a grip on control of their unions. In

Mr. Flaherty is president of the National Legal and Policy Center (NLPC), a nonpartisan foundation promoting ethics in public life (www.nlpc.org). NLPC sponsors the Organized Labor Accountability Project and publishes a newsletter titled *Union Corruption Update*.

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1994, the Justice Department alleged in a draft racketeering complaint that Arthur Coia, then-president of the Laborers International Union of North America (LIUNA), was "controlled and influenced" by organized-crime figures. That did not stop Coia from having contact with the Clinton White House 120 times, including invitations to state dinners, receptions, and one-on-one meetings with the president. The explanation may be that LIUNA became a multi-million-dollar contributor to Clinton and the Democratic party. The Justice Department complaint was never filed. The Clinton administration instead accepted a plan for "internal reform" of LIUNA, now generally regarded as a sham.

The most important part of *Betrayal* may be its last 15 pages, a section titled "Fighting Back." Here Chavez proposes eight major initiatives to stop or at least curb Big Labor's abuses; among the measures are enforcing the Supreme Court's *Beck* decision on workers' rights, and requiring the unions to open up their books.

The articulation of this reform agenda is most welcome, but it does prompt the question of why so little progress has been made on any of these items even though Republicans have controlled the White House and/or Congress for several years. The answer is that there is—and has been, since the 1930s—a political standoff over the powers legally granted labor unions. In Congress, there still exist two to three dozen Republicans who will vote with the union bosses. And unions remain the best-organized grass-roots political force in the country. Never ones to let long-term success get in the way of short-term pandering, the Republican congressional leadership and the White House are not rushing out to embrace the Chavez agenda.

But seventy years is a very long time for the survival of an institution built on coercion and intimidation; just ask the Soviets. If Republicans will not launch a frontal assault on union power, they should at least look for a way to assert the principle of voluntary association, and highlight the injustice of forced dues. Blows against the empire have to start somewhere. Perhaps taking just one of Chavez's eight proposals, and making it a centerpiece for legislative action and public debate, would provide that opportunity.

In a rare burst of leadership by a Republican labor secretary, Elaine Chao last year enacted regulations requiring greater union financial disclosure. She was predictably vilified by the AFL-CIO's John Sweeney and other bosses, and had to overcome a court challenge to her authority. The new regulations are the first tightening of union disclosure requirements in 40 years; but, as Chavez points out, unions still face no requirement for an independent annual audit. In the wake of Enron and WorldCom, why shouldn't Republicans make a major push for mandatory audits? Even if they lose, they will be on the right side of the issue—and maybe even the right side of history. **NR**

CONSOLATION

The waiting is too much for me
I wish to know and then to see

I wish to walk along those coasts
So far from hurt, and far from boast

So far from that which hunts me now
Away from teeming, turgid crowds

Away from seething, languid souls
That fall, unknowing, dark and dull

That falling—leaves and trees and
rain and sky—
It's that I'll miss, not you and I

It's that I'll know so many things
I'll count the angels on a pin

I'll count the endless dots of water
And when I'm done, it will not
matter

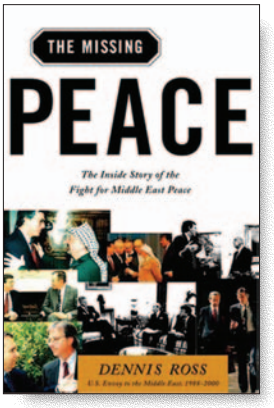
And when I'm there, will people
stare
And ask themselves "How does
she dare?"

The waiting is too much for me
Yet what to know and what to see

I find there's beauty in decay
In falling, rending, end of days
And so I think I'll linger here
Until the wall clock strikes, and jeers.

—SARAH M. BRAMWELL

More Process Than Peace



The Missing Peace: The Inside Story of the Fight for Middle East Peace, by Dennis Ross (Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 840 pp., $35)

DAVID PRYCE-JONES

THE Arabs have had every chance to be free and prosperous, taking their due place in the modern world. Instead they have fought interminably with themselves and their neighbors, wasting in gun smoke and death what ought to have been golden years. Great-power rivalry during the Cold War acted as a partial clamp on the endemic violence. Now the United States alone has to weigh the gravity of each breakdown of law and order, and decide whether to let things rip in the Middle East or intervene as arbiter.

The mainspring of so much endemic violence is the absolutism that goes deep into Arab history and culture. The centuries of Islam up to the present reveal no trace of genuine constitutionalism. In all spheres the spoils go to the strong. Invading Kuwait in 1990, Saddam Hussein was behaving like any Arab absolute ruler of the past. But a chain of events was started whereby an American-led coalition would overpower him, and one day impose constitutional procedures on Iraq.

One of Saddam's propaganda successes was to link his occupation of Kuwait with the Israeli occupation of Arab territories.

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This is to compare apples with oranges. Saddam believed he was seizing more spoils, while in fact Israel occupied territories solely in self-defense from Arab armies invading across them. What Arabs and Muslims really think of Israel is an open question. Many evidently admire the constitutional example it sets, but some certainly focus on it all their imagined grievances and resentments against the West. No American president can ignore grievances and resentments of this kind, enfolding as they do the United States as the embodiment of the whole West. After the liberation of Kuwait, and as a follow-up to it, the first President Bush brought Israelis and Palestinians together at the Madrid conference. Nothing came of it, but the symbolism of the occasion encouraged President Clinton, and he was to spend a lot of his time and political capital in pursuit of an Israeli–Palestinian settlement.

Dennis Ross was offered a senior Middle East position on the staff of the National Security Council and joined the White House in 1986. He describes himself as coming of age politically in the Sixties, with a belief in public service instilled by the Kennedy brothers, and also in the general supremacy of peace, love, and brotherhood. Working with Secretaries Baker, Christopher, and Albright, he was to be, in his words, "the architect of policy toward the Arab–Israeli conflict in the first Bush administration and the lead negotiator in the Arab–Israeli peace process throughout the Clinton administration."

Occasionally he mentions his wife Debbie and the kids, and snatched games of golf, tennis, or basketball, as much as to say that he could have been leading a sane alternative existence. In fact he was a man immersed in his work to the point of obsession, as evidenced now by his exhaustive recall of everything he was caught up in. *The Missing Peace* fascinates, bores, bewilders, and instructs, all at the same time. In the chattiest prose, this book at one level is a popular manual for Washington negotiators, with its summaries of strategy papers, non-papers, position reports, back channels and front channels, and its debates over the merits of process versus substance.

The trick for anyone in his position is never to run out of ideas and suggestions, and to expect to spend many nights on end without sleep. But the reader has to keep in mind the Shlomos and Muhammads and other players referred to by first names only; and he has to make what he can of acronyms of the diplomat's trade like MOU (Memorandum of Understanding), CBM (Confidence Building Measures), and SOGI (Signals of Good Intentions). Whole passages come out as brain-twisters. A brief example, selected at random: "Madeleine effectively argued that Arafat had three options: (1) no summit, lower-level negotiations, and basic paralysis; (2) a summit that created the chance for an agreement; (3) the traditional Palestinian approach of seeking a Pyrrhic victory of getting a limited third FRD." Actually Ross's guidelines prove to be quite simple: Don't lie, and make sure to understand exactly those needs that the parties cannot compromise.

On the Arab side, peace-making involved President Hafez al-Assad of Syria and the Palestinian leader Yasser Arafat. These two believed the worst of each other, quite rightly. Assad might have been prepared to exchange the captured Golan Heights for peace, but he insisted on extending the Syrian border right up to the Sea of Galilee, creating a possible claim to its waters. More spoils, in short, but he stopped trying to gain them when he had the more important business of assuring his son's succession as president of Syria. Head of a movement rather than a state, Arafat was in a weaker position. Unable to gain any concession from Israel unless he gave something in return, he hoped to manipulate Clinton into pressuring Israel to give him everything he wanted. Egregiously he flattered Clinton as a great friend and a great man. Another Sixties believer in peace, love, and brotherhood, Clinton always gave him another chance.

With a weight of detail hard to absorb, Ross depicts the long-drawn trudge from the Oslo Accords to the Wye Summit and finally the Camp David meeting where Arafat at last broke off the peace process, and exposed how misguided Clinton's expectations had been. Loyalty itself, Ross thinks that Clinton was a brilliant expositor capable of arousing genuine emotion. In passing, he allows that Clinton may have been distracted by the Monica Lewinsky affair, which coincided unfortunately with his peace-making efforts.

Ross had to deal on close personal terms with successive Israeli prime ministers, and he sentimentalizes the compliant Rabin and Peres, while deprecating Netanyahu as a weakling and Barak as a conceited incompetent. Launching the peace process, Arabs and Israelis alike concurred in leaving to the end intractable issues such as the return of refugees and the status of Jerusalem. This was a procedural mistake, which further exposed a structural flaw—for it allowed, indeed encouraged, terrorists to commit outrages to derail negotiations at any moment of their choosing. When Barak sought goodwill by withdrawing troops from a strip of southern Lebanon, Hezbollah terrorists dramatized the event to make it appear that they had driven Israel out unconditionally. The moral was that violence brought higher rewards than peace, and would do so again: hence the current intifada and the suicide bombers.

Here was the rub. The Israelis all along were proposing the give-and-take of democratic constitutionalism while the Arabs were acting on the practices and values of absolutism. Clinton, Ross, and the secretaries of state made every effort to bridge the gap between the two incompatible belief systems, but it can't be done; it was all in their imagination. Ross puts the blame for failure squarely on Arafat, as too small-minded to be able to grasp the opportunity for peace, unable to turn himself from a revolutionary into a statesman. In one perspective, this is self-evident, but in another perspective Arafat is being true to absolutism, and out for spoils however he can get them. Sixties believers in peace, love, and brotherhood will generate nothing except verbiage in the Middle East until some political alternative is devised to modify or reform absolute rule. Should Iraq provide a viable model, Syrians and Palestinians might well follow, but that's not likely any day soon. **NR**

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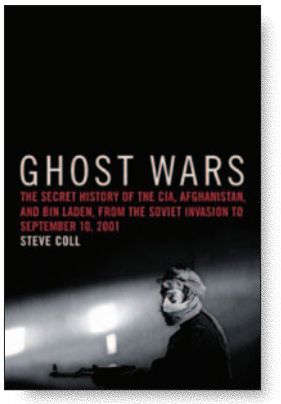
Mujaheddin Memories


GHOST WARS
THE SECRET HISTORY OF THE CIA, AFGHANISTAN, AND BIN LADEN, FROM THE SOVIET INVASION TO SEPTEMBER 10, 2001
STEVE COLL

Ghost Wars: The Secret History of the CIA, Afghanistan, and Bin Laden, from the Soviet Invasion to September 10, 2001, by Steve Coll (Penguin, 695 pp., $29.95)

RADEK SIKORSKI

"It's hard to be an ally of the United States," a Pakistani general is reputed to have said. "You never know when they might turn around and stab themselves in the back." This darkly humorous insight certainly applies to the U.S. effort against the USSR in Afghanistan, and the mishandling of its aftermath. Journalist Steve Coll's account of how the Afghan war, one of the most successful operations of the entire Cold War, was allowed to degenerate into the anarchy that helped create 9/11 is reliable, riveting, and frightening.

The proxy war that the Free World waged against the Soviets in Afghanistan was undeniably effective. At the cost of a few billion dollars in aid to the Afghan resistance, we bled the USSR of perhaps $100 billion. More important, the Soviets' failed Afghan invasion cost them their claim to be the leader of the oppressed masses of the Third World; it also angered the Arab world, spoiled the Moscow Olympics, and gave Solidarity in Poland a gasp of air. Eventually, the Red Army's forced withdrawal from Afghanistan ended the myth that history had a direction, toward the ever wider spread of Communism. It was a very thick nail indeed in the coffin of the Evil Empire.

The victory in Afghanistan in the 1980s remains instructive today, because it shows that the best way of affecting events in foreign lands is not necessarily to send troops, but to empower your friends to do what they want to do anyway. The trick is to use other people's patriotism to the desired ends. Proxy war is to preventive war what judo is to boxing: A black belt beats Mike Tyson every time.

Unfortunately, few victories pay just rewards to those who did the most to bring them about. Equally, few victories fail to produce unpalatable side effects. Just as the people of Central and Eastern Europe who suffered the longest occupations during World War II hardly benefited when the Soviets took over from the Nazis in 1945, so Afghans had few reasons to rejoice when the Red Army finally called it quits in February 1989. After an ill-judged attempt to remove the remaining Communist regime by making the guerrillas fight to take cities like a conventional army, the U.S. essentially lost interest in Afghanistan for a decade and stood by as the country tore itself apart.

The Red Army's forced withdrawal from Afghanistan ended the myth that history had a direction, toward the ever wider spread of Communism.

That didn't have to happen. Coll confirms from documentary evidence something that has been obvious to any serious student of the Afghan scene in recent years: that the compromise, multiethnic government that is now giving the country its best chance in 25 years could have been established ten years earlier—sparing the country Taliban rule, and preventing 9/11. How could the U.S. have gotten it so wrong?

Critics of the U.S. involvement in Afghanistan are right that roots of the fiasco go back to the 1980s, but not in the way they imagine. It is simply untrue, according to Coll, that Osama bin Laden was a part of the U.S. operation against the Soviets, let alone a U.S. agent, as some more febrile minds have alleged. His name crops up as one of the young men who hung around in Peshawar on the fringes of the jihad against the Soviets but there seems to be no record of any operational contacts between him and U.S. authorities. With hindsight, this seems like an oversight. A good intelligence service should have made an effort to track the activities of allies of convenience, such as the Arab jihadists in those days, as well as enemies. On the other hand, imagine the fuss if it were discovered today that the relationship had been closer than it was.

Coll's documentary evidence confirms my experiences as well. I now wish I had taken a greater interest in the Islamic charities for Afghan refugees in Pakistan that Osama frequented, instead of killing time in Peshawar bars, waiting for convoys to go over the border. But the Arabs seemed to be a sideshow in those days, and they kept to themselves.

The real failure was not one of intelligence, but of politics. In the 1980s—as Coll documents—everybody and his brother knew that the lion's share of American aid to Afghanistan went to the most anti-American of the guerrilla commanders, the murderous Gulbuddin Hekmatyar. By contrast, the legendary Ahmed Shah Masud, who was not only a moderate by Afghan standards but one of the masters of irregular warfare in the 20th century, received a pittance, and that mostly in the closing stage of the conflict. The imbalance was made worse by the fact that the matching funds supplied by the Saudis went exclusively to the radical Islamists. This strange way of funding the mujaheddin was the result of the Faustian bargain that the U.S. had struck with Pakistan's military intelligence: You let us hit the Soviets, and we won't object when you favor your own tribal brethren or political clients. From the Pakistani point of view, Hekmatyar, a Pashtun radical universally loathed in

Mr. Sikorski is executive director of the New Atlantic Initiative at the American Enterprise Institute. From 1986 to 1989, he reported, for a variety of publications including National Review, from the mujaheddin side of the war with the USSR.

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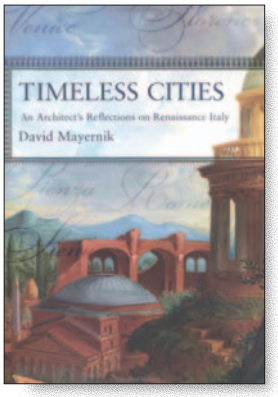
Afghanistan, was the perfect anti-Soviet fighter to support. His very unpopularity guaranteed that he would not slip the leash.

But after the war, Hekmatyar—predictably—failed to consolidate Kabul; nobody has yet succeeded in ruling the country on the basis of only one of its myriad ethnic and religious groups. After he failed, the Pakistanis came up with the Taliban, a peasant mutation of the same idea: a pliable Pashtun regime in Afghanistan. Coll shows how Pakistan's relationship with al-Qaeda also deepened once the Americans stopped funding the mujaheddin and lost their leverage. Osama's planes to Afghanistan flew through Pakistani air-space. His lieutenants—including the 9/11 plotters—reached camps in Afghanistan with Pakistani visas in their passports.

Could Osama nevertheless have been stopped, before he sent his murderers to New York and Washington? Very likely so. Reading Coll's book, it is heartbreaking to learn how many occasions to liquidate Osama were missed. Plans to hit Osama at his compound near Kandahar were shelved, on account of possible casualties among Osama's family. Other operations were never tried because White House and CIA lawyers determined that he could be killed only while resisting arrest. At one point, Masud actually sent a team of his men—using mules, and without satellite phones—to fire on a base at which bin Laden was due to appear. CIA lawyers—to the Afghans' fury and amusement—tried to call the team back; the Americans were actually relieved when it was reported that the operation had failed to kill bin Laden.

With the publication of Coll's book, it is no longer possible to argue that the Clinton administration was less than grossly negligent in standing up to the terrorist threat. The CIA's Counterterrorism Center never received the institutional and budgetary backing it needed to do the job; Afghanistan never received the political attention needed to deprive al-Qaeda of its base. We will be paying the price for a long time yet. **NR**

Building for People



Timeless Cities: An Architect's Reflections on Renaissance Italy, by David Mayernik (Westview, 288 pp., $26)

M. D. AESCHLIMAN

TRADITION, T. S. Eliot wrote 85 years ago, cannot "be inherited, and if you want it you must obtain it by great labor." As Tom Wolfe showed in his hilarious 1981 satire on modern architecture, *From Bauhaus to Our House*, all the most influential early- and mid-20th-century Modernist "master" architects found the weight and trajectory of traditional architecture humiliatingly oppressive and irrelevant to modern conditions. With the German émigré Walter Gropius they wanted to "start from zero"; with the Italian "Futurist" Filippo Tommaso Marinetti they wanted to celebrate "the joy of mechanical force." The assertion of their contemporary, Eliot, about tradition was thus—to them—retrospective, nostalgic, lugubrious.

Mr. Aeschliman is a professor at Boston University and the University of Italian Switzerland and also the founder-director of the Erasmus-Jefferson Summer Institute in Tuscany (in collaboration with the University of Virginia), now in its ninth summer.

Our Modernist urban wastelands and strip developments are their legacy, now everywhere in the world, from Las Vegas to Lugano to Chandigarh. Of course human vanity and greed, short-term self-love and self-interest, have been efficient causes in the generation of the loveless, tasteless public and private buildings and spaces that litter the world today; but their ultimate or deeper causes come from the dominant "progressive" zeitgeist of modernism that replaced McKim, Mead, and White buildings with those by Gropius, Le Corbusier, Louis Kahn, Frank Gehry, and their thousands of admirers and imitators. As David Watkin pointed out in his classic *Morality and Architecture*, the Modernists' "blind worship of the new" and "hatred of the past" have vandalized Western cultural ecology. Building plans such as Frank Gehry's new Stata Center at MIT are almost unbelievably ugly and perverse, proving that our century is a great age of credulity.

Yet an important renegade reaction or salvage operation has been performed by thousands of preservationists—mostly earnest, civic-minded non-professionals—all over the world, from small American cities such as Portsmouth, N.H., to famous British and Italian cities. In England, Sir John Betjeman's efforts to save Victorian buildings were augmented by a brilliant 1977 BBC-TV series called *City of Towers*. This film impressed Prince Charles of England and led to his own documentary and book, *A Vision of Britain* (1989), deploring "the wanton destruction which has taken place in this country in the name of progress."

But Prince Charles did more than protest. He sought out and gave some patronage to a brilliant renegade architect and architectural theorist named Leon Krier, who has served as the central inspiration of a group of neo-classical architects and urbanists of great talent and determination who have had the courage and wit to attack the wreckers—and to provide alternatives. In 2003 the first Richard Driehaus Prize for Classical Architecture—$100,000—was awarded to Krier in a ceremony at the Art

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Institute of Chicago: a direct challenge to the enormous power and prestige of the Modernist establishment.

Krier's visionary urbanism has reshaped whole urban quarters, including Poundbury in England and Città Nuova (Alessandria) in Italy; he has also been a major inspiration for Robert Davis's marvelous town, Seaside, in the Florida panhandle. Among Krier's other impressive allies and students are David Watkin, Demetri Porphyrios (now at work on major buildings at Princeton), Andrés Duany and Elizabeth Plater-Zyberk of the University of Miami, and the Englishmen John Simpson and Quinlan Terry. One of the most brilliant of his younger followers is the American David Mayernik, who has recently erected a magnificent gymnasium and a beautiful library, with adjacent piazzas, at The American School in Switzerland, near Lugano.

Mayernik's new book may be called an exercise in the kind of "visionary traditionalism" characteristic of Krier and several centuries of architects before him, especially those of the Italian Renaissance. *Timeless Cities* is a consideration of four great and famous Italian cities—Rome, Venice, Florence, and Siena—and one small and relatively unknown one, Pienza, in terms not mainly historical or touristic but as models of a "usable past," as resources for the better construction of future cities. This is a hard task: Most of us who love these cities find them inexhaustibly interesting to walk in, observe, and read about, but we suffer from the underlying suspicion that the neo-barbarian modern cities we now inhabit and their socio-economic dynamics have rendered impossible a revival of humane urbanism. We have been expelled from the commodious cities of man and God by irreversible mechanized brutality and progressive visual desensitization. The high Modernists despised human scale in favor of humiliating gigantism and "machines for living"; in those machines we now live.

"We have the paradox today," Mayernik argues, "of being a generally more equitable society than, say, 14th-century Siena, but we have built for ourselves a far less humane environment." Cities such as Siena, Mayernik writes, "are still accessible to us, and they often strike visitors as oddly familiar, more like home than home itself." Mayernik's analysis and argument involve a subtle but deft critique of our currently dominant intellectual elites: "It has been a mistake for urban theorists in the past two centuries to have effectively substituted the mechanics of politics for the values of religion as the only elevated content cities can embody."

There are several things of infinite value worth loving America for, but our Modernist-built landscape is not among them.

The totalist, leftist political visions of the Modernist architect-émigrés to the United States were effectively mocked by Tom Wolfe, and never had much political currency here to begin with. But like the mockery by sophisticated, "value-free" European émigré academics of "naïve" American pieties such as "natural rights" (which the grateful émigré Leo Strauss defended), the Modernists' mockery of beaux-arts classicism was very effective in America, leaving us with "the naked public square" in several senses. No leftist (or fascist) project filled the square in this country, but Modernist commercial neo-brutalism did. As Burke pointed out, for us to love our country it needs to have something lovely about it. There are several things of infinite value worth loving America for, but our Modernist-built landscape is not among them. It is little wonder that many thoughtful people now treasure the early-20th-century legacy of McKim, Mead, and White.

Like his mentor Leon Krier, David Mayernik has obtained the tradition "by great labor." Not only a gifted architect, draftsman (his book is illustrated with his own drawings, including a beautiful cover), and fresco painter, he is also a skillful literary advocate for a "visionary traditionalism" as the urban agenda for a 21st-century renaissance. **NR**

■ SHELF LIFE ■

The Magus of MIT

MICHAEL POTEMRA

THE three years since 9/11 have turned Noam Chomsky into a household name. His pamphlets of left-wing political extremism sell extremely well, and can serve as Exhibit A in the mainstreaming of American paranoia. He is by all accounts a brilliant man; so, we must ask, how can such a bright person be peddling the worst form of conspiracist hysteria? And it matters: When a scandal-sheet tabloid makes wild charges, people know it's okay to chuckle; when the voice issues from the ivied labs of MIT—home, after all, of rocket scientists—it's harder to keep smiling.

In ***The Anti-Chomsky Reader*** (Encounter, 260 pp., $17.95), editors Peter Collier and David Horowitz have assembled nine essays that demonstrate why Chomsky is screamingly wrong on the major issues he has tackled. In whitewashing the North Vietnamese and the Khmer Rouge, writes Steven Morris, Chomsky dismisses eyewitness accounts of horrific atrocities; Eli Lehrer shows Chomsky engaging in similar legerdemain in forwarding the theory of a conspiratorial corporate media in the United States. Throughout, Chomsky is shown to be a master of bald assertion, whose incantations cannot survive a basic reality check. "Chomsky weaves his malicious fantasies with the skill of Thomas Mann's Mario the Magician, a famous fascist prototype," write David Horowitz and Ronald Radosh; his "hypnotic power derives from the impression that his bizarre text is based on actual sources

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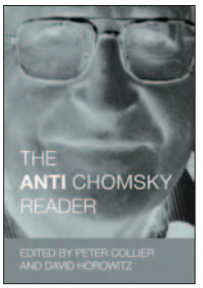
like the *New York Times*, and that the reality he is busily inventing can be decoded only by intellectual wizards like himself." To read this fine book is to receive an unsparing view of what lies behind the Chomsky curtain.



■ An enduring canard about the Religious Right would have us believe that conservative Christianity encourages men to be insensitive, hypermasculinized patriarchs: strong, silent, tough, and—not to put too fine a point on it—blockish. Fortunately, a prominent sociologist—University of Virginia professor W. Bradford Wilcox—has taken the time to study the reality of the conservative Christian family, and he finds that the stereotype is factually incorrect. In ***Soft Patriarchs, New Men: How Christianity Shapes Fathers and Husbands*** (Chicago, 328 pp., $20), Wilcox reports that evangelical religion actually "domesticates men. . . . At least when it comes to parenting and marriage, the soft patriarchs found in evangelical Protestantism come closer to approximating the iconic new man [of more liberal gender-ideology] than either mainline or unaffiliated men do." This is because "the positive effects of high levels of theological conservatism, familism, and church attendance among conservative Protestant men more than offset the negative effects of gender-role traditionalism." The "active and expressive approach to family life" taken by these conservative men may, ironically, make them, "in some ways, more progressive than their nonconservative peers."

The book is full of fascinating information—for example, women who are married to theologically conservative husbands are more likely than other married women to report themselves happy with the understanding they receive from their husbands; and husbands who are *active* conservative Protestants are much less likely to commit acts of domestic violence than husbands who are only nominally adherents of that religion. Wilcox has made a valuable contribution to our understanding of the American family as it tries to preserve the best part of its traditional character.

■ The definitive biography of Ronald Reagan is now available in a handsome two-volume slipcased paperback edition. Lou Cannon's ***Ronald Reagan: A Life in Politics*** (PublicAffairs, 1,462 pp., $35) includes *Governor Reagan: His Rise to Power* and *President Reagan: The Role of a Lifetime*; together, these volumes tell an unbeatable story of the guy from the Midwest who changed the world. Cannon is not a conservative, and that makes his testimony all the more valuable: He is a journalist who is telling the truth about what he saw and what he learned. One of the blurbs for this new edition is especially revealing. It's from Clinton attack dog Sidney Blumenthal, who writes: "No other journalist had [Cannon's] access. . . . Cannon's diligent effort to understand the inner Reagan is utterly devoid of the slightest smirk." Imagine that: If you examine the facts directly, without filtering them through the smirking prism of anti-Reagan bias, Reagan comes across as really impressive.

■ One of the most important issues facing President Bush in a second term would be the need to rescue Social Security from insolvency. ***Social Security and Its Discontents: Perspectives on Choice*** (Cato, 386 pp., $29.95), edited by Michael D. Tanner, is a valuable handbook on the problem. June O'Neill, former director of the Congressional Budget Office, points out in this volume that in the year 2018—less than a decade and a half away—"Social Security will become a current liability to the budget and the government will be compelled to take measures to find the extra funds needed to cover benefits." In short, that's the year in which the American people will discover that the Social Security "trust fund" is just an accounting gimmick and that there's not actually any cash in it.

Editor Tanner makes a persuasive case for the private-investment option: "Irresistible demographic and fiscal pressures" are making it highly unlikely that Congress could continue to keep the system solvent in its current form. The three options—and even Bill Clinton recognized this—will be raising taxes, cutting benefits, or using the market to generate retirement income. As Tanner points out, "Social Security taxes are already so high, relative to benefits, that Social Security has quite simply become a bad deal for younger workers, providing a low, below-market rate of return," so the first two options are non-starters. What Tanner proposes, specifically, is giving workers born after 1949 a choice: continue to pay the full traditional Social Security payroll tax, and get the low benefits sustainable under current levels of revenue; or divert their half of Social Security taxes to an individually owned private account. Workers would also be allowed to deposit an additional 10 percent of their income in the private account. This two-option arrangement would eventually be replaced by a system in which all new workers would enter the market-based retirement system. Which is a much better bet than what we have now; as Tanner points out, "over the worst 20-year period of market performance in U.S. history, which included the Great Depression, the stock market produced a positive real return of more than 3 percent."

■ For conservatives, the clash between modernity and traditional mores is an inescapable issue. How, specifically, do human beings hallow the Permanent Things even as they go about their lives in modern circumstances? Isaac Bashevis Singer grew up in an Eastern Europe that was already experiencing challenges to traditional ways; in 1935, he moved to Manhattan, the world capital of modernity. Over the following half-century, Singer wrote tales of Jews in the Old Country, and Jews in the New World, preserving Jewish identity in a time of rapid change. One story begins: "I, a demon, bear witness that there are

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no more demons left." Welcome to Singer's world, and to ours.

Singer wrote in Yiddish, and then assisted in the translation of his works into what he called his English-language "second originals." The Library of America has just issued a three-volume edition of his ***Collected Stories*** (789 pp., 856 pp., 899 pp.; $35 each) that includes almost 200 works of short fiction—including ten never before available in English. Buy one of these volumes, read a few of the stories at random; you will see a writer of great power and poignancy, grappling with evanescences, offering glimmers of eternity.

■ The name of Jim Kuhn is not well known, but—as executive assistant to President Reagan—he was one of the most valuable players on the Reagan team. In his new book, ***Ronald Reagan in Private: A Memoir of My Years in the White House*** (Sentinel, 274 pp., $24.95), Kuhn gives a behind-the-scenes account of the real Reagan: a considerate man, but also firm and decisive.

■ Justice Sandra Day O'Connor's ruling in last year's University of Michigan affirmative-action case was one of the most disappointing court decisions in memory: It appeared to delay by 25 years the public recognition that America should be a colorblind society. In ***Swing Dance: Justice O'Connor and the Michigan Muddle*** (Hoover, 208 pp., $15), prominent journalist Robert Zelnick tells in detail this story of missed opportunities.

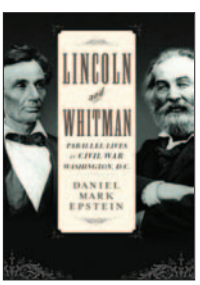
■ In the 1940s, the cradle of Western civilization incubated some sinister offspring. In ***Red Acropolis, Black Terror: The Greek Civil War and the Origins of Soviet-American Rivalry, 1943-1949*** (Basic, 300 pp., $27.50), historian André Gerolymatos chronicles the first proxy war between the West and the Communist world. He reports that the Greek Communist ELAS forces used women and children to ambush British troops; while the British dutifully learned to cope with these low tactics, they nonetheless found it highly demoralizing to have to shoot at the women and children. This would set the pattern for our later struggles between freedom and barbarism: They do their worst, we do what we must.

The Greek war ended with the Communists' defeat; Western resolve, in the form of the newly forged Truman Doctrine, kept Stalin from making a wholehearted commitment to the insurgents. Gerolymatos criticizes the Truman approach—saying it "retarded and distorted the political evolution of Greece" by lending support to right-wing postwar governments—but admits that it rescued Greece from incorporation in the Warsaw Pact, and from the "decades of economic and cultural stagnation" that would have resulted from a Communist victory. **NR**

■ BOOKS IN BRIEF ■

Lincoln and Whitman: Parallel Lives in Civil War Washington, by Daniel Mark Epstein (Ballantine, 379 pp., $24.95)

Daniel Mark Epstein, poet and biographer, has had the inspired idea of bringing together two quintessential Americans, Abraham Lincoln and Walt Whitman. In the first vignette here, from 1857, Lincoln lies on a couch in his law office, his legs so long they hang over the end. He is reading aloud, and at length, from the new *Leaves of Grass*. Heretofore, Lincoln's oratory had been shaped by the influence of Euclid's cool logic. Epstein argues persuasively that reading Whitman led Lincoln directly to the rhythms and imagery of his great "House Divided" speech.



Whitman began, in Washington, what amounted to a ministry to the wounded in the fetid hospitals, comforting them as he could. Lincoln became aware of the remarkable presence of Whitman—his huge head, his beard, and his wondering eyes—standing in the crowd watching him as he was driven to and from his summer residence. Whitman wrote: "I see very plainly Abraham Lincoln's dark brown face, with the deep-cut lines, the eyes . . . always to me with a deep latent sadness. . . . We have got so that we always exchange bows."

Lincoln and Whitman were bound by *Leaves of Grass*, and by their immersion in suffering, appalled by the dead and wounded always present to them. As Whitman wrote, "I am the man, I suffered, I was there." When Lincoln was assassinated, Whitman wrote the most famous elegy, "O Captain! My Captain!" and also the best elegy, "When Lilacs Last in the Dooryard Bloom'd." Epstein brings a poet's discernment to his comments on the complex prosody of this masterpiece, with its imagery of the western falling star, the lilac, and the thrush. Epstein's book is a luminous work of insight and evocation.

—JEFFREY HART

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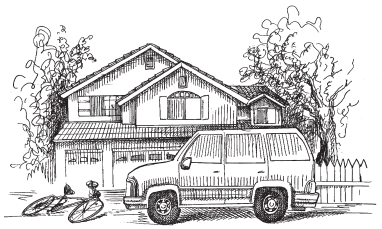
■ THE STRAGGLER ■

Sweet Sorrow



JOHN DERBYSHIRE

HERE is an affecting little tableau, set in a quiet suburban street on a sunny Friday morning in July.

An automobile is parked in front of a house. The driver is a woman of about forty. There are four children in the car with her, her own children, three girls and a boy, their ages ranging from four to fourteen. The woman and the three girl children are all weeping. The boy, aged eleven, is playing the man very bravely, but with an obvious effort.

Standing on the front lawn of the house, next to the car and looking at it, talking in through the passenger-side window in fact, is a little group: four or five women, and about as many children. Most of them are weeping, too.

Fifteen yards away on the front lawn of the next-door house, which is mine, in the shade of the flowering cherry tree my wife planted when we moved here twelve years ago, stands my son. He is not weeping, seems in fact to be emotionally disengaged from the proceedings, watching in calm silence.

The occupants of the car were our next-door neighbors for eight years. The children grew up with our children, constantly in and out of each other's houses. They are a busy, lively family. The wife is a great organizer of community events. She it was who took us out carol singing every Christmas, up and down the street with "Frosty the Snowman," "Silent Night," and of course "The Dreidel Song." When we came back from caroling, hoarse and frostbitten, it was to their house we repaired for drinks and desserts, paper hats, and musical recitals by the youngsters. We have albums full of photographs taken over the years, their kids and our kids all mixed up indiscriminately. Their oldest daughter, three years our Nellie's senior, did as much to form Nellie's speech patterns, play habits, entertainment preferences, and interpersonal skills as we did—perhaps more, if Ms. Harris's book *The Nurture Assumption* can be believed. Our private family micro-dialect—catch-phrases, jokes, code words—is in part derived from theirs, and theirs, presumably, from ours.

Now the husband's firm has relocated to a southern state, so the family is moving down there. This tearful street scene is our last goodbye to them. The house not having been sold in time, his firm bought it from them at a good price, and will effect the sale themselves. Now the house will stand empty and silent, the noise and busyness and laughter all gone elsewhere. We hope we were good neighbors to these people, as they certainly were to us. We await the sale of the house with apprehension. It's a big house, suitable for a couple with plenty of kids. On the other hand the yard is small, and big families generally want a good yard. Perhaps some entrepreneurial pest will buy it and let it out as multi-family, or rooms for young singles. That's against zoning rules, but our town is lethargic about enforcing these things and we could be in for years of bother. Heaven forbid.

Having bad neighbors is a major blight on the homeowner's life. I learned this from my own parents' experience. From my infancy until I left home we lived in a "council house," that is, a house owned by the English town in which we lived. My parents paid a weekly rent. It was a good house, though, and when, under the first Margaret Thatcher government, it became possible for council tenants to buy their houses at a deep discount, I bought it.

Unfortunately the house was semi-detached. The western half of the structure remained a council property. The decent working-class people who lived there through my childhood moved away, and my parents were subjected to a succession of the newer, welfare-state-raised variety of English public-housing tenant, for a full description of which, see the works of Theodore Dalrymple. It is now the case in England, for example, that any unmarried girl who produces a bastard thereby acquires the right to public housing. My parents were neighbors to a couple of these trollops (as my mother called them)—slack-eyed puddingy creatures whose physical charms, though obviously adequate to sustain the attentions of an underclass male for at least a few minutes, were utterly invisible to me. One was ejected, after a great deal of fuss, for plying a very ancient trade out of that pleasant house, a house built by earnest postwar socialists as a reward for the labors of the deserving poor.

I watch my son, standing there impassive under the flowering cherry as tearful goodbyes are exchanged. His coolness is odd. He has often told me that the boy in the car is his best friend. They have spent many hundreds of hours playing together—cycling in the street, comparing remote-control toy trucks, hunting through the Internet to find cheat codes for computer games. Does he grasp the reality of the event? Understand that he will quite probably never see his friend again? Can his nine-year-old mind not yet encompass this infinity of absence? Or is some defense mechanism in play? It is so hard to fathom the inner life of childhood—that alien landscape of fresh-minted joys and shames, tribal superstitions, and soul-shaking fears.

Surely this little scene—the quiet sun-stunned street, the weeping women, the trembling stoicism of his first playfellow—will impress itself deeply on my boy's mind. It may be that in adult life he will suddenly recall it when exploring the poetry of his mother's ancestors, so rich in the pain of parting from friends. Wang Wei, perhaps:

> Spring grass will be green again next year;
> But O noble friend, will you ever return?

For oneself, far enough along in life to have accumulated a score or more of emotional partings, the event sends one scanning back over them, over the whole melancholy inventory: in airport departure lounges, at farewell dinners, by hospital beds, on railroad-station platforms, on doorsteps, at taxi stands or random street corners, once unforgettably by telephone. Every one an amputation, every one a heartbreak or a mourning, every one a premonition, a shadow thrown backwards through time by the one certain, final parting that is waiting for us all. **NR**

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WILLIAM F. BUCKLEY JR.

No Irish Need Apply

NEW YORK, JULY 23

THE featured tale of the *Cap Anamur* brings wretchedly to mind the sovereign dilemma of modern life, which is: What is to be done with unwelcome people?

The story caught the headlines when the ship's German crew—captain, first mate, and head of the relief organization that runs *Cap Anamur*—were hauled away to an Italian jail, where they rested for five days, charged with aiding and abetting illegal immigration.

Everybody pleaded everything; mostly false, it proved. The ship is part of a German seagoing enterprise whose mission is to rescue shipwrecked human beings. The *Cap Anamur* had 37 African passengers aboard when it hove into Porto Empedocle, on the coast of Sicily. One of the Germans told the authorities that the 37 passengers were Sudanese refugees from the terror and starvation associated with the oppressions of Darfur. The Italian authorities looked into the records of the ship and said: No disembarkation.

It transpired that 1) The passengers were not Sudanese. They were (mostly) from Nigeria and Ghana. 2) They were not refugees, who are defined as persons who are fleeing persecution. 3) Porto Empedocle was not the first port of call. They had been refused refuge in Malta because, one discovered, here too they weren't classified as refugees. 4) The tale of their having been picked up from a sinking rubber raft was not established. 5) The bona fides of the German crew was not established. The Italian authorities have threatened the principal executive of the relief organization twelve years in jail and a fine of $18,500 per passenger.

In midweek, the passengers were fed into an airplane and flown back to Africa.

What especially galls is the bare-bones story. Here were 37 Africans who wanted desperately to leave their native countries, were glad to misrepresent their provenance, and conspired with the German activists to devise a shipwreck story and refugee status to try to get access to Europe. What they ended up with were headlines in the Italian press. Nobody (who got much notice) was pleading that the passengers should be admitted into Italy. The question was whether Italy's tough laws against illegal immigration were tough enough. The world was reminded that victims of shipwreck are entitled to put in to the port of call nearest to where they were rescued, which would have been in Libya. But nobody wanted to go to Libya. And Malta had said no, so here they were in Sicily.

Immigration laws always sound harsh when trained on palpable human beings. To demonstrate that life in Africa can be a can of worms won't get you past immigration. And immigration laws are based on eminently defensible concerns, cultural and economic. Fox Butterfield of the *New York Times* wrote soon after the Cultural Revolution in China that every Chinese would emigrate to the U.S. if given the opportunity. It is because not all Chinese are permitted to immigrate that some Chinese have done so to their benefit and to the benefit of the U.S. Unless immigration laws can distinguish between individuals and whole populations, the benefits of life in the desired country would not continue. If everybody in Nigeria and Ghana who wished to do so could enter into Italy, in due course life in Italy would cease to have any advantages over life in Nigeria and Ghana.

Even so, the problem of turning people away challenges basic philanthropic impulses. A great novel, *The Camp of the Saints*, appeared 30 years ago featuring great boatloads of Africans arriving in the south of France in legions too great to be turned aside. What to do? Starve them? Shoot them? We don't do that kind of thing—but what do we do when we run out of airplanes in which to send them back home?

Great Cheer in Boston

NEW YORK, JULY 27

THERE'S something especially appealing about the hero who is safely back home after a risqué experience. Bill Clinton knows this and knows how to arrange his resilient face to show just that strain of I-know-you-caught-me-out-but-I-love-you-anyway. The crowd could not have made its enthusiasm more palpable unless they had put him on their shoulders, marched to the White House, and plopped him down in the Oval Office. He knows he was naughty, but naughty is exactly the right word for a peccadillo. "Some of [the public] who thought I was a good president didn't think I was a good man," he told Tom Brokaw. But that's other people, he was saying in effect in Boston. True love survives these things, and the lightly chastened hero is stronger and braver than ever.

I expect that experience happened, flared, and went to a happy sleep with Teresa Heinz Kerry. For as many hours as interest could be sustained (about three) we heard her engaged in exchanges graduating in asperity, ending when she said to the interrogator that he could "shove it." All bystanders with microphones at hand stood still. Had a scandal been born? An event? A mini-event? The latter, and within 24 hours she had become the heroine of the exchange. You can't bully Teresa Heinz Kerry, they said. She could toss back an epithet—and top it off with a million dollars, if she chose. A few such things help enormously with the awful stolidity of her husband's speeches.

Though this is written before Kerry's acceptance speech. If correctly reported, nothing in political prose has been so burnished. We hear that the manuscript is everywhere the senator goes, and he looks at it, corrects it, adds to it, subtracts from it, ten times every day.

And on top of that, we learn, he has practiced its delivery. A friend related to me that a friend of his had served as advance man for Ted Kennedy at the San Francisco convention in 1984 and that he had had to listen to the senator's 45-

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minute speech five times. This was the speech in which Teddy denounced every Republican thought, word, and deed under the incumbent administration. If I had been there I'd have asked the poor young advance man whether the speaker paused at every point where applause was reasonably expected. If it had been a presidential State of the Union speech, such pauses would consume about as much time as the speech itself. "And I am telling you that the voters of America will not put up with this any longer!" Thinking back, how long would you guess the applause for that line would have lasted, at the Cow Palace in San Francisco, in 1984? The speech was deafening, and it had a resonant life in the state of Minnesota, which was the only state, four months later, that voted against Reagan, pursuant to the urging of convention speaker Kennedy.

It won't be so this time, because in 1984 Reagan had a great deal going for him. The Democrats don't have Ronald Reagan, but they have Ron Reagan Jr., who has become a Democratic picador. The party of John Kerry can eat hungrily off Iraq. There was no Iraq in 1984 to bedevil Reagan. The economy back then was going forward in long strides. This time around it is less resolute, and jobs are certainly being lost to outsourcing. There is the sense in Boston of a president, George W. Bush, whose title is unclear. The picador even said that Gore had actually won the Florida vote, which is not true—even after the Supreme Court ruling, a neutral inquiry by *USA Today* and the *Miami Herald* established that Bush had won the vote in Florida.

Mr. Bush is not going to win as triumphantly as Reagan, but the cheers for Bill Clinton on Monday aren't going to register the national mood on November 2. They are enlivening in Boston, but the day will surely come, as so often in the past, when the cheering has to stop.

Drunk in Boston

NEW YORK, JULY 30

THE final day in Boston was illustrative at several levels, principal of them that Senator Kerry's brilliantly planned launch proposes to focus on the simple matter of his relative desirability. There was no bill of indictment against George Bush, but the speeches rested on common assumptions. They are that Bush is a failed leader, a thoughtless strategist, a reckless general, and a careless custodian of the United States Constitution.

All of thinking America knows that national conventions are about political theater. They do not convene to discharge exegetical functions. Mr. Kerry was glib about his commitment as commander in chief to use force if necessary, which is on the order of saying that, if necessary, you will guard against gravity. Kerry is not a pacifist and nobody has accused him of being one, so that the questions up for focus have to do with whether Bush responded intelligently to the crisis of 9/11. If we had gone to Boston to put all the pieces on the table which would permit comprehensive judgments on the strategic insights of Kerry, time would have been given to his frequent votes in the Senate against military expenditures, his refusal to back SDI, and his ambivalent votes on Iraq: Go ahead, but don't ask me to pay the bills.

It wasn't that kind of show at all. He was introduced some time after ten, and, well before that, we began to hear about his family and about his exploits. Some viewers might have been excused a silent expression of gratitude that he has only two families, not three. If there had been another set of daughters or sons, the whole schedule would have needed reworking. And this same silent prayer might have expressed gratitude that he had fought on only one war front. The testimonials to his fine behavior were heartfelt but they were also copious, reminding the audience of what was to be stressed at the convention, which was other things than what specifically to do to ingratiate ourselves with Paris and Berlin and Moscow in order to make our efforts in the Middle East multilateral, and what exactly is the new Congress expected to do by way of reallocating income between those who earn it and the government that desires to spend it.

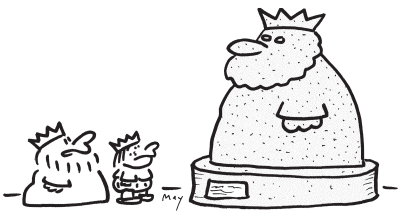
Bush is on the road, and it is projected that as he travels east, and the challenger travels west, their roads will actually cross in Pittsburgh. Which brings to mind the observation of Senator Lieberman. Asked if that Thursday night was the most important event on the Democratic calendar, he replied that, no, more important would be the debates. There, he was saying in effect, the public would be hearing no testimonials to heroic conduct, nor tales of hamsters revived, but hard questions both about what might have been, and about what might yet be.

Senator Kerry is well equipped to ask hard questions about the conduct of the Iraq war, but he will need at the same time to say whether he believes the U.S. should care what form of government survives in Iraq. There was not a word in the big speech about "democracy," and that is a proper subject for a major exchange of views. Is our commitment to Iraq properly discharged by simply providing the firepower to defeat the insurgents? What should U.S. commitments be, if any, toward the extension of self-government in Iraq? And what concessions should be made to attract the cooperation of our putative allies in Europe? What would a President Kerry do—what policies would he undertake—to repair the fracture he criticizes to ardently?

And, one might add, so eloquently, in a speech that stands out as political oratory, well composed, well delivered, and apparently home-grown. But these gifts, of course, are different from those required in debate. Senator Edwards is skilled in debate, and Joe Lieberman was well situated to remember his own encounter with Dick Cheney in 2000. It is by no means predictable that the golden boy of special pleading in a courtroom will translate to a juggernaut mowing down a vice president who has served as secretary of defense and as White House chief of staff.

So that is the next stop, and all those gifts cultivated for a political convention will need reworking to serve in a debate, man to man.

—UNIVERSAL PRESS SYNDICATE



"Your grandfather was fiscally liberal and socially conservative—they called him 'Ludwig the Loser.'"

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MARK STEYN

The New America Firsters

WHEN did the Left get so Hicksville and parochial? They were always at the most ostentatiously internationalist end of the spectrum, always asserting "solidarity" with the oppressed masses overseas. True, this internationalism derived mainly from their belief in big government, and world government as the biggest government of all. But by definition it obliged the Left to embrace notions of common humanity, etc. Even their lineup of unsavory Latin pinups—Fidel to Che, Allende to Ortega—required them at least to have a nodding acquaintance with the foreign pages of the newspaper.

Not any more. To be sure, John Kerry pledges that, under his leadership, America "will rejoin the community of nations." But it remains to be seen how many members of the world community will still be on speaking terms with the Democrats come November. Kerry-Edwards's protectionist demagoguery—outsourcing, Benedict Arnold CEOs, etc.—rattles foreign governments far more than the war does. If it's a choice between Democratic-party trade barriers or the lunatic Texan overthrowing some tinpot dictatorship once a year, the Europeans will go with the latter.

You wouldn't know that from the Dems, who manage to sneer about "nations you can buy on eBay" and berate the president for his obnoxiousness to foreigners all in the same sentence. Bush has "alienated almost everyone," Jimmy Carter told CNN, "and now we have just a handful of little tiny countries supposedly helping us in Iraq."

"Little tiny countries"? Who do you have to be—other than Jacques Chirac—to get any respect from the Dems these days? I suppose the Kingdom of Tonga's pretty tiny. Population 100,000. But they've just deployed 45 Royal Marines to Iraq, and good for them. A proportional deployment from France—supposedly the only ally that counts, to Carter, Kerry, Biden & Co.—would be 27,450 troops. No matter how much conversational ketchup Teresa drizzles over Chirac, that's never going to happen.

Why would Jimmy Carter sneer at Tonga? Well, actually, he didn't: The nickel-'n'-dime nowhere statelets he had in mind are Britain, Australia, Japan, Italy, Poland, and some 30 others. In the last year, the "tiny little countries" helping in Iraq constituted half of the G8 nations, a majority of NATO members, and a majority of European Union countries. On the other hand, Carter is still fondly recalled by the Arab League.

A face of old-school nationalism?

I'd love the president to convene a grand Coalition of the Willing summit with a group picture of everyone from the British prime minister to the King of Tonga. It would be a useful reminder that the received wisdom—Bush the unilateralist, Democrats the global-outreach crowd—is a precise inversion of reality. On the stump in South Dakota, for example, Tom Daschle has morphed into Charles Lindbergh, talking up America First. If Trent Lott did that, he'd be denounced as a racist and Bush would be under pressure to get him to step down.

Senator Daschle is demanding to know why we're building schools and roads in Iraq rather than in South Dakota. I don't know that we are—or that we even need to. When I was in Iraq, the roads struck me as being pretty good, aside from the odd bomb crater. But Daschle's line is striking a chord among his constituents. "If we're spending billions on improvements to infrastructure, we ought to be doing it in Brown County," wrote Alex Kolb to the *Aberdeen American News*. "I'm glad our senator knows what our priorities should be."

Oh, well. Daschle's just a fringe Democrat; he's only the leader of his party in the Senate. But here's the presidential candidate himself reprising one of his lamest stump lines in his big convention speech: "We shouldn't be opening firehouses in Baghdad and shutting them in the United States of America."

Who's doing either end of that nonsequitur? The firehouse in my corner of New Hampshire is the responsibility of the town government, and the firehouse in Mosul is the responsibility of Mosul's government. Neither falls under the jurisdiction of the President of the United States. So all it boils down to is a cheap crack that a bunch of Arab spongers are hoovering up all your federal gravy like a lot of useless layabout warfare queens. In his shriveled contribution to the politics of envy, the worldly, sophisticated, cosmopolitan senator sounds like a *Doonesbury* caricature of a redneck Republican. As Christopher Hitchens wrote, "There is something absolutely charmless and self-regarding about this pitch."

The lesson of 9/11 is that failed states export their problems: That morning, the fellows in the cave in the Hindu Kush came to the heart of New York. One day they might even show up in South Dakota. Going to where the problem is and fixing it at the source is the surest way to Put America First. This lesson doesn't apply merely to terrorism: Had America fixed Mexico a century ago, half its population wouldn't be living in California and Texas, corrupting the foundations of U.S. citizenship. John Kerry's firehouse jibe is a particularly crude example of Oscar Wilde's definition of a cynic: the man who knows the price of everything and the value of nothing. Thus the post-9/11 Democrats' indifference to the global community. Teresa Heinz Kerry can speak five languages, and tell the world to "shove it" in every one. **NR**

SHAWN THEW/EPA

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—FOREWORD

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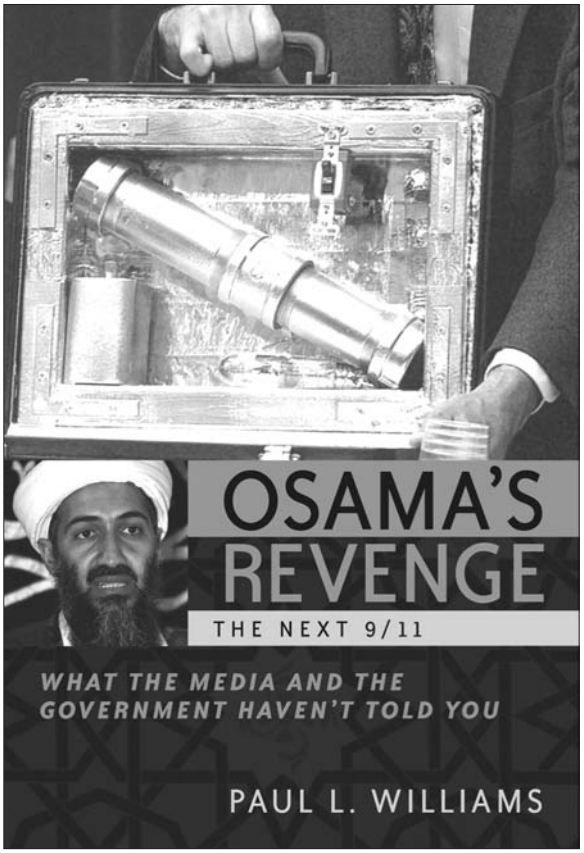

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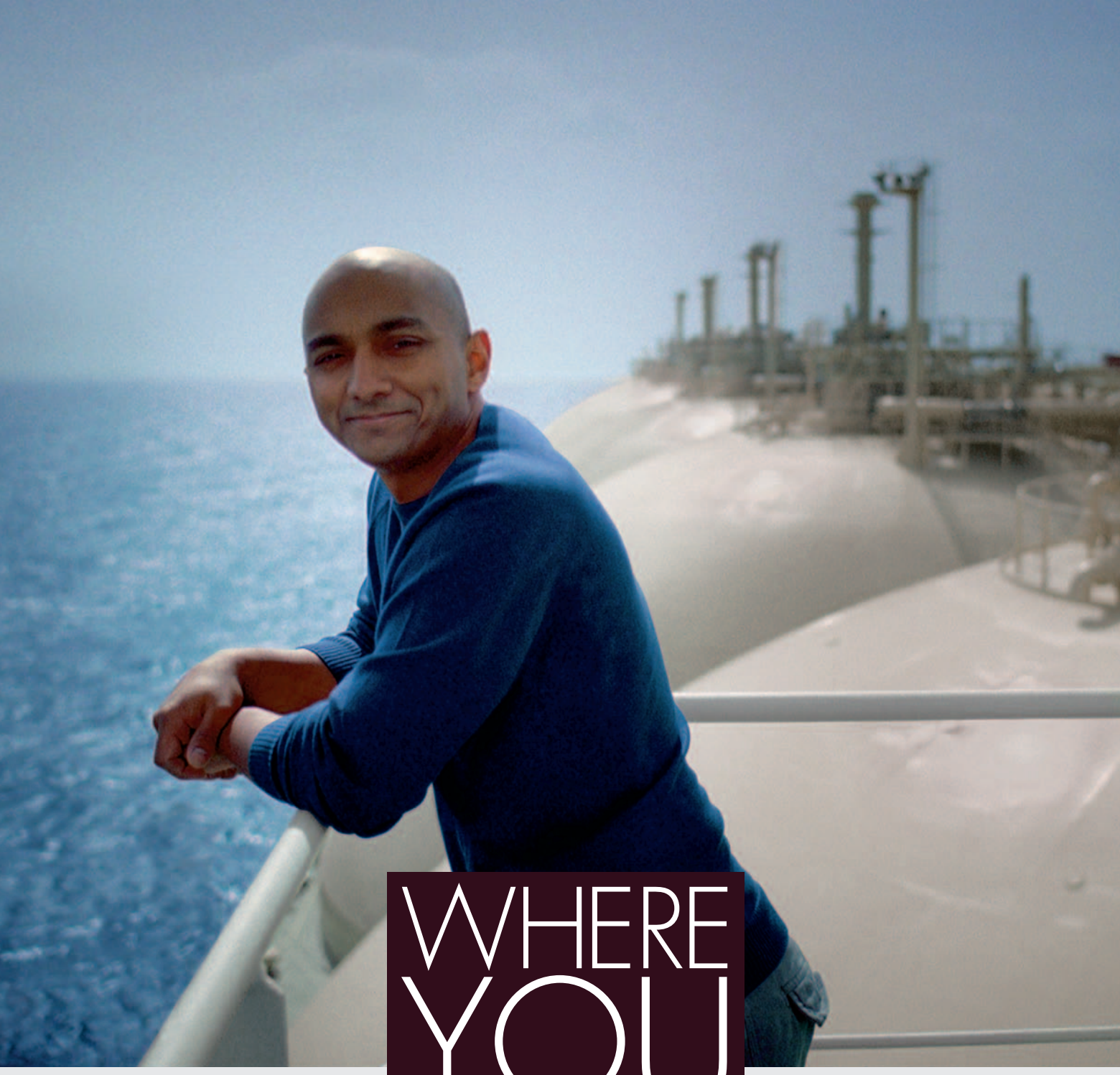

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